

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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Total Deleted Page(s) = 4
Page 8 ~ b3; b6; b7C; b7D; b7E;
Page 9 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 12 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 13 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
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F B I

Date: 10/12/71

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL

(Type in plaintext or code)
REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority)

TO :

FROM :

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is the September-October, 1971 issue of the "Columbia Journalism Review" (10th Anniversary) entitled, "The First Amendment on Trial" with sub-caption, "After the Pentagon Papers - Special Issue".

It is noted that the above publication contained an article by BEN H. BAGDIKIAN captioned, "What Did We Learn".

b3
b7E



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
October 12, 1971

The 10th anniversary issue of the "Columbia Journalism Review", September-October, 1971, entitled, "The First Amendment on Trial", with the additional caption, "After the Pentagon Papers - Special Issue", contained an article written by Ben H. Bagdikian captioned, "What Did We Learn". Bagdikian is the "Washington Post's" Assistant Managing Editor for National News and author of the recent book, "The Information Machines". A copy of Bagdikian's article is attached hereto.

The "July 1971" issue of "Esquire" magazine contains an article by [REDACTED] entitled "The Lawyer's Party". According to [REDACTED] this article, FRED WILDE HAGEN, LHM, who was then an Associate Court Editor with the "Washington Post", spoke to [REDACTED] in Boston during the evening of June 16, 1971 and thereafter flew from Washington, D.C. to Boston, Massachusetts.



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

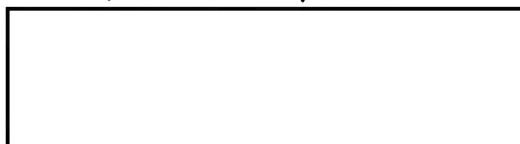
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 7/24/59

FROM : SAC, BOSTON

SUBJECT:

Business and telephone directories at Providence reflect that JACKSON-1-5432 is listed to BEN H. SAGDIKIAN, 312 Morris Avenue, Providence, a reporter for the Providence Journal-Bulletin newspapers at Providence.



b3
b7E

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:

Date: 5-3-60

Office: Memphis

File Number:

Title:

Character:

Synopsis:

BEN BAGDIKIAN,
reporter of "Providence Journal" newspaper, Providence, R. I.,
furnished background information regarding "The Patriot"



b3
b7E



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Cincinnati, Ohio
March 20, 1968

On March 18, 1968

a leaflet captioned "Militarism - Poverty".

The leaflet notes that in April, the poor will be walking the streets in Washington for jobs, and asks:

"Will you give \$10 to get one person to Washington?"

"Will you provide a home for the children of parents, or parent, who goes to Washington?"

"Will you go to Washington and walk with your unemployed brother?"

The leaflet designates the action, "Operation Bread Basket", of The Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The leaflet indicates it emanated from the Ohio-Washington Campaign Committee, 7902 Hough Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, in cooperation with the Ohio Peace Action Council, 66 East Fifteenth Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.

A copy of the leaflet is attached hereto.

57-1100-107

Can we support a needless war in
Vietnam and deny the war of poverty
in America?

In April the poor are walking the
streets of Washington for justice.

Will you give \$10 to get one person
to Washington?

Will you provide a fare for two
children if parents, or parent, who
goes to Washington?

Will you go to Washington and walk
with your unemployed brother?

OPERATION POOR PEOPLE

The Southern Christian Leadership Conf.
Dr. Martin Luther King, President

Ohio-Washington Campaign Committee
7302 High Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44103

in cooperation with:

Ohio People Action Council
6 East 15th Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43201

Militarism



Poverty

LIFE EXPECTANCY: 17 Years

INFANT MORTALITY: 236 out of every 1000

YEARLY INCOME: Less than \$500

Facts on one of the "backward" countries?

EQ ...are statistics on a group of American Indians living, upon the most affluent society, the world has ever produced. Their story--early death, infant mortality, illiteracy, un-tilitiated poverty--is repeated across our entire nation. It is found over vast areas like Appalachia; it is found in small pockets within the country's richest cities. The sharecropper, the miner, the Negro, the Indian; what have they, to say, of vital importance to every American?

Their loss is ours. In the families of the poor are 12,000,000 children--the takers of poverty. Unless their demands can be justly met within our culture and economy, their despair will become an ever-increasing part of the American heritage.

IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY
by Ben H. Bagdikian

The physical and mental well-being of all America, not just the poor, is declining.

Consider the irretrievable loss to the nation in dollars, and lives, and hopes, when two-thirds of the budget is military and defense related. Our national resources of talent and money are being drained by the war, nuclear bombs that no one needs, extra community services directed at the symptoms (mental and physical sickness) of poverty, rather than the cause.

How will we recover the \$500,000 to kill one Viet Cong?

How will we benefit when only 7¢ a day welfare is allotted to a person's food, clothing, and personal expenses? One-fourth of America is living on less than \$3,000 per family of four. The defense industry is creating jobs only for those that can compete with skilled machines. The hard-core of unemployed is growing in spite of the war.

"Some in this audience are at home. We must at present speak as a child of God and in this to the suffering people of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being shattered. I speak for the people of America who are realizing a sense of shared responsibility and guilt and concern for the people of Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands helpless at the potes we have taken. I speak as an American to the leaders of my own nation. The great initiative in this war is ours. The initiative to stop it must be ours."

BEYOND VIETNAM
by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"There are no military solutions to human problems; violence and bloodshed are not answer to human anguish."

VIETNAM: CRISIS OF CONSCIENCE
by Abraham J. Heschel

MAILED

OCT 3 1967

NAME CHECK

October 2, 1967

BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN
Born: January 30, 1920
Marash, Turkey

No investigation pertinent to your inquiry has been conducted by the FBI concerning the captioned individual. The files of this Bureau, however, reveal the following information which may relate to the subject of your name check request.

Ben H. Bagdikian wrote a series of newspaper articles in June, 1955, which were critical of several phases of loyalty investigations concerning government employees. The files reveal that Bagdikian entered the United States at New York City in June, 1920, and subsequently obtained his citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, Aram Theodore Bagdikian.

Original and 1 - NACC - DISCO
Request Received - 9/11/67

(4)

NOTE: Above data taken from letter to White House, 7/20/67, in answer to name checks on Bagdikian and another individual.

REC 5

OCT 3 1967

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

53 OCT 9 1987

July 20, 1967

BY LIAISON

The White House
Washington, D. C.

Reference is made to your name check request concerning [redacted]
[redacted], and Ben H. Bagdikian.

Mr. Ben Haig Bagdikian, a contributing writer of "The Saturday Evening Post" magazine, who was born on January 30, 1930, in Marash, Turkey, has not been the subject of an investigation by the FBI. However, our files reveal that Mr. Bagdikian, who entered the United States at New York City in June, 1920, and subsequently obtained his citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, Aram Theodore Bagdikian, wrote a series of newspaper articles in June, 1956, which were critical of several phases of loyalty investigations concerning Government employees.

1 - [redacted] (sent direct)
1 - [redacted] (sent direct)

1 - [redacted] (sent direct)

10 JU 21 1967
62-9477

NOT RECORDED

176 JUN 21 1967

(8)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

5.2 1067 391

ORIGINAL FILED IN 9-4115941-1

Civil fingerprints were located in the files of the FBI Identification Division which may be identical with those of Ben H. Bagdikian. Those fingerprints were searched through the criminal files of the Identification Division and no arrest record was located.

A copy of this communication has not been sent to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 5-23-61

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN
 WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT FOR
 THE PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND,
 "JOURNAL-BULLETIN"

Captioned individual prepared a feature article concerning the Director's 37th Anniversary and, throughout the entire item, made a number of snide comments relative to the FBI and to Mr. Hoover. The Director has noted: "See that Bagdikian is not on our mailing lists and gets no cooperation. H." He also described Bagdikian's article as "utter bunk." Bagdikian is not on any of the Bureau's mailing lists.

BEN H.

Bufiles indicate that Bagdikian was born on 1-30-20 in Marash, Turkey. He entered the United States at New York City on 6-1-20, when he was approximately two months old, and subsequently obtained citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, Aram, who was naturalized 3-29-26. Bagdikian was employed by the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" about 2-15-47, having come to Rhode Island from Monroe, Louisiana.

BEN H. Bagdikian previously wrote a series of six articles captioned, "What Price Security," which appeared in the "Washington Star" May 29 through June 3, 1955. These were critical of several phases of the loyalty investigations of Government employees.

ENCLOSURE
 1 - [REDACTED] enclosures
 1 - [REDACTED] enclosures

HHA:mb

(5) 50 JUN 16 1961 ZEROX

REC-64

62-21717-10
17 JUN 13 1961

CRIME RESEARCH CENTER

5-23-61

RE: BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

ARTICLE

Hoover

Continued From Page One

Bureau of Investigation. Mr. Hoover exacted the promise, "No politics, no outside influence." Then he took the job.

From a sleepy agency spending most of its time investigating anti-trust suits and interstate prostitution, the organization, renamed Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935, has become today an organization with an almost sacred status in the country, a \$125,000,000 annual budget and 6,000 special agents throughout the country. It checks on everything from radical politics to stolen Navy bulldozers.

There is little doubt that some of this growth would have occurred because of world conditions, but there also is little doubt that it has happened the way it did because of the continuous leadership of Mr. Hoover. He has done it with the use of firm discipline (agents are careful how they dress, have their desk drawers inspected without warning to make sure all is in order), a careful detachment from partisan politics, the introduction of scientific techniques and one of the most proficient public relations operations in the American government.

Grew With the War

The biggest enlargement of the F.B.I. came with World War II. In 1939, President Roosevelt directed the F.B.I. to coordinate all matters relating to espionage and sabotage. This caused a ten-times increase in F.B.I. manpower. It also started a rivalry between intelligence services that exists to this day.

President Roosevelt's directive expanded F.B.I. jurisdiction to include Western Europe. With the start of the war, President Roosevelt created another intelligence operation, the Office of Strategic Services, for the purpose of secret activity, as opposed to just the collection of information. Head of the O.S.S. was Gen. William Donovan.

General Donovan had been an assistant attorney general in the Department of Justice when Mr. Hoover was rising in the bureaucracy and it was no secret that he and Mr. Hoover were not the best of friends. But it

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Journal-Bulletin Washington Correspondent

Washington — Today is the 37th bureaucratic anniversary of Washington's most durable agency chief, J. Edgar Hoover, and comes at a time when his trade, cops - and - robbers - plus - cloak - and - dagger, is under public fire.

But Mr. Hoover is not likely to suffer, since his career represents one of the most charmed and continuous bureaucratic lives in official Washington.

Furthermore, he has the comforting experience of watching his chief rival in American intelligence operations, Allan W. Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, get roasted in public and checked on in private as a result of the CIA's role in the recent Cuban invasion failure.

Some have speculated that Mr. Hoover might even succeed Mr. Dulles as head of CIA. But this is highly unlikely. Although the name, J. Edgar

Hoover, since his accession to chief of the Bureau of Investigation on May 10, 1924, has become a household phrase, and

although he has almost single-handedly raised the status of detective to one of Chief Hero in America society, it is not likely that he or his agency will benefit substantially from any changes in the structure of CIA.

Mr. Hoover, now 66, first went to work for the government as a messenger in the Library of Congress, studied law at night at George Washington University and then became a file clerk in the Department of Justice. In 1919 he became a special assistant to Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer for the mass deportation of aliens, an episode Mr. Hoover is said to look back on unhappily.

By the early 1920s gross corruption in government, including the Department of Justice, called for a clean sweep. A new attorney general, Harlan F. Stone, asked John Edgar Hoover, then 29, to become acting director of the Department's

Continued on Page 19, Col. 3

J. Edgar Hoover

See that Bagdikian
is not on our mailing
list & do no co^{nt} operation.
ENCLOSURE

EX-116

REC-6A

62-24717

17 JUN 13 1961

is unlikely that this was the basic cause of F.B.I.-O.S.S. hostility. It is more likely that rival secret police organizations hate each other fiercely because they operate in private and do not have to be held accountable for their relations.

There were areas where the F.B.I. and O.S.S. overlapped in function and at times they spoiled each other's operations against suspected enemy agents. This is not unknown among other intelligence agencies.

Postwar Readjustment

As the war's end approached, it became plain that some permanent worldwide intelligence system would be needed in the postwar period. Late in 1944, President Roosevelt asked General Donovan to draw up plans for such an agency.

What General Donovan proposed was essentially the Central Intelligence Agency, which would collect and direct intelligence activity outside the United States, work then being conducted by half a dozen separate and often rival groups, including at least one each from the three armed services, the F.B.I., the State Department, Treasury, private concerns and others. General Donovan's top secret report was famous for yet another reason: It was the basis for one of the biggest leaks of wartime secrets.

General Donovan issued four copies. One went to President Roosevelt, one to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, one to the O.S.S. and one to J. Edgar Hoover. General Donovan, expecting some bureaucratic infighting, put each of the four reports in slightly different language, although their substance was the same.

On Feb. 9, 1945, the Chicago Tribune, an anti-Roosevelt newspaper, published the secret report, calling it a plan of the New Deal "to pry into the lives of citizens at home." O.S.S. men insist that the language of the Chicago Tribune story was from the J. Edgar Hoover copy of the report.

F.B.I. Operations Shrink

The C.I.A. was created in 1947 and forced the F.B.I. to retire from most of its foreign operations. The F.B.I. and C.I.A. have quietly warred on each other ever since.

Thus, one can imagine that J. Edgar Hoover, beginning his 38th year as chief of his agency, looks with some interest at his chief rival, Mr. Dulles, being buffeted in his 8th year. Mr. Dulles, 68, had planned to re-

tire this summer and it is generally conceded that because C.I.A. intelligence is blamed for some of the Cuban invasion failures some of the subchiefs at C.I.A. will go also. The C.I.A. has been criticized for being insufficiently sophisticated in world politics, its agents too old-school-tie, and Mr. Dulles too prone to speechmaking.

However, these are not very different from the criticisms that occasionally are made of the F.B.I. Mr. Hoover's politics, while carefully nonpartisan, have tended to be compounded of rigid conservatism and sentimentalism, his agents detectives rather than political analysts, and Mr. Hoover himself an indefatigable speechmaker and warning-issuer, with such declarations regularly pressed upon local newspapers and civic clubs by his 6,000 special agents.

Criticism Unusual

It is not common to see public criticism of Mr. Hoover, but it has occurred from time to time. The late Sen. George W. Norris said, "Mr. Hoover has an organization, maintained at public expense, writing speeches for him. . . . When he makes a speech, a copy is sent to practically every newspaper in the United States. . . . A detective who advertises his exploits every time he gets an opportunity . . . will in the end be a failure."

Other national figures in intelligence operations have from time to time criticized Mr. Hoover or the F.B.I. The former chief of Treasury intelligence, Elmer Irey, in a book declared that Mr. Hoover often took credit for successes that other agencies accomplished. James Lawrence Fly, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and onetime Justice Department official, has said, "Hoover sets his F.B.I. above the law and moves in defiance of the Supreme Court." The New York Times once said that F.B.I. possession of dossiers on each national lawmaker constitutes "possessive powers over Congress."

But the overwhelming popular expression about Mr. Hoover is one close to adulation. One of his most ardent admirers, former U.S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, once said, "The American people simply will not countenance any criticism of J. Edgar Hoover."

Despite impending changes in American secret operations and the 37th anniversary of the Hoover F.B.I., the bureau yesterday appeared normal. Mr. Hoover, a bachelor who likes Lawrence Welk and the Dick Tracy comic strip, was planning no special observance.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : [REDACTED]

DATE: June 23, 1959

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: "THE NEWSMAGAZINES"

by Ben H. Bagdikian

Reprinted from

"The Providence Journal-Bulletin"

October 5-17, 1958

SYNOPSIS:

Review of captioned reprint, a series of 12 articles on news-magazines by Ben H. Bagdikian, Journal-Bulletin staff writer.

The author analyzes and compares the "Big Three" among news magazines reaching nearly 10,000,000 persons each week, which he designates as "Time," "Newsweek," and "U.S. News & World Report." Stating that each of the three magazines has had its particular interests in the news and has tended to fit the presentation of the facts to those interests, he adds that the general bias of the three magazines is all on the same side of the American political arena.

"U.S. News & World Report," the author states, comes the nearest to the journalistic tradition of objectivity and records dutifully the official news and some of the opposition while pursuing with enthusiasm, imagination and overwhelming space the ideas dearest to the editor's heart.

"Newsweek" does not seem to be so dominated by a single strong set of political-social opinions or a powerful personality, however, one feature which detracts from its value as a news organ is its persistent self-promotion. The author feels it is the least biased of the three.

"Time," the magazine with the largest circulation and the best equipped and staffed, is treated the least kindly by the author. He points out the known inaccuracies in fact, but says the key is not what "Time" says, but how it says it. "Time," he says, is religiously committed to Modern Republicanism and sets out various examples.

RECOMMENDATION:

EX-132 REC-11

62-94717-9

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

None. For information.

24 JUN 25 1959

(6)

83 JUL 6 1959

C

PURPOSE:

You requested a review of the captioned reprint furnished you

"THE NEWSMAGAZINES"

This is a reprint of a series of 12 articles on newsmagazines by Ben H. Bagdikian, Journal-Bulletin staff writer. The author states that "Each week a politically crucial bloc of American voters--perhaps as many as 10,000,000 men and women--have arranged before their eyes a neatly reconstructed picture of the nation and the world. This arrangement is through the pages of the Big Three among news magazines." Designating the "Big Three" as "Time," "Newsweek," and "U.S. News & World Report," the author states that each magazine tells its readers it is devoted mainly to news.

Mr. Bagdikian then proceeds to analyze these three magazines as to circulation, content, bias and accuracy, at the same time comparing the three on each issue. In 1957, the net paid weekly circulation of "Newsweek" was 1,119,000, but it was being approached rapidly by "U.S. News & World Report" which has tripled its circulation in eight years and in 1958 was reported to be over 1,000,000. "Time" has twice that circulation.

The author states that each of the three magazines has had its particular interests in the news and has tended to fit the presentation of the facts to those interests. The general bias of the three magazines, says the author, is all on the same side of the American political arena. "U.S. News & World Report" has a net impact that agrees with its editor's ultra-conservative political and social opinions. Its technique of printing large quantities of primary documents in public affairs, however, means that opposing points of view see the light of day, even though overbalanced by material agreeing with the editor. "Newsweek" appears to fluctuate between orthodox business-and-trade interests and straight news; but, its apparent lack of unity makes it less dogmatic. "Time" is religiously committed to Modern Republicanism. When "Time's" dominant political interest is not threatened, however, it takes independent lines on civil liberties and other nonpolitical matters.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

Mr. Bagdikian states that it may be encouraging to some that the newsmagazine closest to the journalistic tradition of objectivity, "U.S. News & World Report," has been growing the fastest in recent years. "If one characterized the treatment by 'U.S. News & World Report' of integration--and of other issues with which the Editor strongly disagrees," says Bagdikian,

"one could say that it records dutifully the official news and some of the opposition. And it pursues with enthusiasm, imagination and overwhelming space the ideas dearest to his (the Editor's) heart."

NEWSWEEK

Of "Newsweek," Mr. Bagdikian says that one feature that detracts from its value as a news organ is its persistent self-promotion. According to the author, "Newsweek" does not seem to be so dominated by a single strong set of political-social opinions or a powerful personality as do "Time" and "U.S. News & World Report." He adds that the magazine appears less unified and more loosely edited, and this seems to add to its reputation of being less biased in its presentation of the news than "Times."

TIME

Mr. Bagdikian treats "Time" the least kindly of the three. He states that "Time" has the most effective network of information gatherers in the United States, in terms of intensive coverage of particular subjects; on occasions its work is distinguished, showing by contrast the superficial coverage of other magazines and of many newspapers; "Time" frequently answers in its stories the simple human questions that the hardboiled types of journalism ignore; "Time" can develop the possibilities of a news event more imaginatively than almost any other news organization in the world; and the magazine's writing and editing is bright, sometimes brilliant. "But," he asks, "is it The Truth?"

The author remarks that the elusiveness of Truth in terms of contemporary men and current policies must have worried the editors of "Time" occasionally, but if so, they have spared the reader this human doubt. Each week the world is created absolute and dogmatic, the good guys on one side, the bad guys on the other, with "Time" holding the only scorecard. He points out, however, that when the reader checks back he discovers that the simple world of one year develops messy complications the next, or that the good guy of October may be the bad guy of January, that Truth and Time change.

He states that while "Time" has been known to be inaccurate in its facts, the key is not what "Time" says, but how it says it. He adds that the bias does not usually keep important facts out of "Time," but sympathetic facts are presented with dignity and joy; unsympathetic facts are presented with ridicule and contempt. As examples, Bagdikian pointed out that "Time's" reporting of appearances of both Eisenhower and Stevenson at a farmer's gathering in October, 1956, titled the Eisenhower story "Ike's Promise," while the Stevenson story was titled "Adlai's Pitch." Bagdikian further states

that "Time's" treatment of the campaign in 1956 was so consistently biased that it would be reasonable to label it campaign literature. While Eisenhower regularly "dwelt" on subjects or stated them, Stevenson "cried."

CONCLUSION

The problem of the American newsmagazine, according to the author, is that it presents a subtly loaded political story or a dramatically oversimplified one to an audience conditioned to having outright political argument labeled. The problem is compounded by the fact that the newsmagazines go largely to middle-class readers who probably do not have a high interest in literary analysis and political sophistication.

The Newsmagazines

By Ben H. Bagdikian

TIME

Reprinted from

The Providence Journal-Bulletin

Oct. 5-17, 1958

This series of 12 articles on newsmagazines, a new phenomenon in this generation, was done by Ben H. Bagdikian, Journal-Bulletin staff writer, who wrote "Pitchmen of the Press," a prize-winning study of four American columnists and commentators in 1950. In 1956 he was awarded an Ogden Reid Foundation Fellowship for a study of the press in England, France and Italy.

Printed and Distributed by
Promotion Department
PROVIDENCE JOURNAL COMPANY
75 Fountain Street
Providence, R. I.

Is Week the World Really Recognized?

such news is politically charged, and American news is very much so. It is often and widely over-emphasized before that it is really well-structured, well-written and the world. The argument is that in the pages of the big three among news magazines—

Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report,

the public tells its readers it is devoted mainly

to Time's subtitle is "The Weekly Newsmagazine."

Newsweek's title is augustinously pretentious "A Weekly United Public Service," and the last Security

And the encyclopedic title, U.S. News & World Report,

is followed with the "The Complete News Service."

One thousand copies of newsmagazines that are sold in newsstands and delivered by men go into homes and are read chiefly because they have to report the news of the world.

But their function is not too serious, we may say. The "news" is made of tiny newspapers that circulate every day, and America's record is quickly as possible the main tracks of events that come flying through the air-travel by airplane, hour-by-hour, and day-by-day.

The magazines look back at the end of the week, pick up the random blocks where they lie, rearrange them into a recognizable add their own features, landscaping corporate and editorial effects.

How accurate is this week's news? How close to

real life does it look? And afterward, five years after writing? How often are the highlights of the week left out? How often are they left alone? Wholly or in part, they don't seem forth-of-the-world? How often are the tricks of real events disguised? And a scene at the court rising to the public eye is more satisfying to a reader than than the soberity of reality?

For whom is this weekly world prepared?

A few thousand advertising executives care about it.

"American leading educators, presidents of business corporations, members of Congress, the top ten per cent practically every head vote Time, then haven't magazine."

According to a survey, 80 per cent of Newswear families are administrative and business executives.

Many people do read the newsmagazines. Yet, it is a cliché among many professionals that Time and Newsweek are read largely among those whose interests are too specialized to view stories and items of the non-territorial. This is a criticism made of many other social publications, but few interpret events & to such dogmatic finality as the newsmagazines.

But there is even some evidence that not all the men from the newsmagazines.

Five years ago some 700 scientists were listed by McGraw-Hill at the University of Maryland as publications they could "recommend." They were, in news mag-

New York Times, 20 per cent; Harpers, 13 per cent; The Reporter, 12 per cent; The Saturday Review, 11 per cent; Atlantic Monthly, 10 per cent.

Almost at the bottom was *Cavewoman*, less than one-tenth of one per cent; and U.S. News & World Report, less than one-quarter of one per cent. Time was not included by name in the study but failed to get a significant number of votes in a special list for write-ins.

There are some interesting variations in the pattern of sales of the weekly newsmagazines. In general they are more in cities than in rural areas. Time, for example, sells 12 magazines for every 1,000 persons in the country as a whole, but 19 for every 1,000 persons in metropolitan areas.

Education levels, literacy and incomes are higher in city areas, and in such locations there are more occupations such as stockholders, government employees, and major merchants — affected by national affairs and therefore provide better markets for general news.

But not all city areas buy same magazine in the same proportion. In Boston, for example, 30 copies of Time are sold per 1,000 Bostonians. But only 16 are sold per 1,000 in New York.

If one lists the metropolitan areas with a high proportion of newsmagazine sales he finds that one characteristic of such cities, with some exceptions, is that these communities are served by independent new papers when it comes to national, interna-

times and news of news and
current events commentary
in the news.

It is this with very little
that the public tends to prefer to the daily newspapers.
The public prefers the news
over the "interpretive" material
of the magazines. It is this
which makes the newsmagazines not
too popular in the country
and the world.

Baltimore	13
Chicago	16
Chicago	16
Los Angeles	12
New York	15
New York	16

Some cities where Time
sells at substantially average
sales:

Atlanta	30
Los Angeles	25
Manchester, N.H.	29
Seattle	29
San Francisco	23

In Providence Time sells
1,000,000 copies.

Yet plainly there are factors other than local and national
newspapers governing the
size of newsreading rates. Los Angeles, for example, has a
ratio of less than one of circulation
and commentary in its daily news media. Yet its
last sales of Time could also stem from the splash Hollywood
makes in the national
news and the size of a
many of its editors in how that
splash is received in the mass
media.

Washington, on the other
hand, has more serious news-
papers but also high news-
magazine sales (2 times per
year). These sales are
not, probably, because the
press here is free with its
commentary and other experiments
but simply because it generates
most national news and whose

readership is limited by the
fact that it is not a newspaper.

The fact that the sales of
Newsweek before the news
magazines became popular
indicates more than can be
gathered from the figures. U.S.
News & World Report comes
second.

Even fewer the pattern. The
popularity and entrepreneurial success
of the magazines is
based on the fact that millions
of Americans, Time Inc., the parent corporation
of which Time magazine is
the foundation, received a
quarter of a billion dollars
last year and showed a profit
of \$25,000,000.

And no wonder that optimism
can be traced of the newsmagazines.
After all, their success is based largely on the
seemers desire of readers to
get an idea of what goes on
in the world. In an era of
instant communication, re-
volving doors, news and
alarmingly pressures and an
eternal sense of crisis, it is
natural and encouraging
that the sense of time
pauses occasionally and asks
himself what he means.

The newsmagazines tell him.

It seems legitimate to inquire
into how fair how accurate,
how responsible are
the interpretations the newsmagazines present to their
public.

Most newspapers cling to
the ideal—some say outmoded—but the reporter
should let the news speak for itself, that the reporter
should record the facts of an
event objectively and not tell
the reader what he means
they mean.

The late Liner Davis once
said:

"The good newsman, the
good news braver, must
walk a tightrope between two
great gulfs: on one side the
false objectivity that takes
everything at face value and
lets the public be impressed
by the charlatan with the
most brazen roost; on the
other, the 'interpretive' reporting
which fails to draw the line between objective
and subjective, between a
reasonably well-established
fact and what the reporter or
editor wishes were the fact."

Thus, the success of the
newsmagazines is based partly
on the failure of newspapers,
if the pattern of variation
of sales in certain cities
means anything. The magazines'
growth is also a sign that there is an unmet popular
demand for simple, dramatic
interpretation of the news.

If the newsmagazines often
make the news too simple and
too dramatic they survive,
because the popular hunger is
there.

The major question then
becomes who is the man who
interprets the news, what is
his record for accuracy, for
integrity, for fairness, for rationality,
for respect for the
need of the citizen to know
all the facts, as they occur
pleasant and unpleasant?

It is one of the ironies of
the Big Three newsmagazines
that the proprietor with a reputation for
the most extreme personal political
bias, publishes a newsmagazine with a reputation
for being the least biased of
the three—U.S. News &
World Report.

How justified is that reputation?

No. 2

U.S. News, Fast-Rising Giant

On the last page of the
latest issue of newsmagazine
in America one finds in small
print:

"This page presents the
opinions of the Editor."

A study of six months of
David Lawrence's U.S. News
& World Report shows that
these opinions run to the
need to avoid Russia from
the United Nations and at-

tack it militarily, the "illegalitY" (this quotation marks) of the
Supreme Court decision on racial integration, the
dangers of "New Deal experimentalism," the "dicta-

and it is the same. The
problem is that you can't
get rid of the press.
That's why the CIA and
the White House (Chart 1)

can't have much to print

in the news because
most of the members
of Congress do
not care.

Lawrence

the newspaper editor
is not a self-taught
newspaperman. He has studied
the art of journalism,
but he has also studied
politics at the Dept. of
Political Science, University
of Princeton. This is not an
easy place to find a
place to address for
anyone other than the
President of the
United States.

The kind of recognition
must be a source of great
satisfaction to the Standard
editor. The son of poor
immigrants, he worked his
way through Princeton as an
assistant to a man who
had developed a close
relationship with President
Woodrow Wilson. When
Wilson went to the White
House, this relationship made
it easier for Lawrence to
become a newspaper editor.

It is perhaps typical of
Lawrence that he sacrificed
his own professional career
and personal friendship
to reporting because he
thought it important news—
at which he suffered a
loss. It limited his ability

to become a financial
successor, started a business
and in 1926 began a
newspaper to report on government decisions and
announcements called "U.S.
Today." At the same time, he
wrote an editorial column in
a conservative daily column (it
now appears in 250 daily
newspapers) written by another
employee, Drew Pearson, and
with Edward Bernays and
H. L. Mencken in
the 1930s were commenta-
tors on the New Deal in
the 30s. Lawrence became
known as one of the most

respected and influential men in the country.

He was a member of the
Senate Select Committee on

- David Lawrence: ... has the ability to appear sweetly reasonable while making the most highly prejudiced statements of opinion.

conservative commentators in
the 1930s.

In 1939 Lawrence had com-
pleted his work and sold
much of it to the new "U.S.
News" magazine of the
present magazine. What hap-
pened afterward may be de-
pressing to some who share
impartial news presentation. "U.S. News" had no vis-
ible bias. Ten years ago he
made it into "U.S. News"
and a bias or point of view
began to be evident. It
became less useful from
that time on.

The combination of a deal
in 1951 went to market in
1957 is thought to be over

1,000,000 today. This is about
the same as Newsweek, but
as much as Time. It is be-
lieved that U.S. News World
Report could make two or
three times its present
profits if it did not pour so
much into news space. But
its growth certainly is related
to this generous allocation of
space to the reader. (Law-
rence's 60 per cent interest
is held in trust will go in his
death to the employees who
already own 40 per cent.)

Among the features of this
growing giant are

lengthy tape-recorded in-
terviews with important news
sources, printed verbatim in

— 1 —

I appreciate your assistance
in this matter.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

On the way to several places
on a hot, dry furnace, with heavy
smoke, I saw a number of
red birds.

Using the technique of composite illustrations to clarify concepts and simpler concepts

The Piano-Violin as Heavy Weight

A recent survey by the University of Michigan School of Journalism of the 1952 political coverage in 100 news magazines found that Time printed 34,000 words of campaign news. Newsweek some 11,000; Life, 11,000; Look, 8,000; and Saturday Evening Post, 7,000. In its search for bias, the survey said Time's words were 73 per cent biased toward the Republicans. Newsweek's was 60 per cent, Look's 55 per cent, Life's 50 per cent, and the Saturday Evening Post 40 per cent. The 1952 Newsweek World Report only one per cent toward the Republicans, the rest neutral.

But this study evidently looked only for editorially inserted words of bias. U.S. News & World Report clearly headed a "list reproduction of the most biased words." The N.Y. Times study did not measure a pertinent factor: how balanced and fair was the selection of persons whose words were accurately reported? And in what editorial surroundings were these words placed?

A study of this year's U.S. News & World Report shows that it is sources who are to be had only in article and interesting social points of

"Said Johnson. But it also shows that taken together they do not form a balanced picture of informed opinion.

In the first six months of

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

In terms of content, we report the U.S. News & World Report (U.S.N.W.R.) as the top news source for major stories. In fact, it seems to play a role in the news agenda of the press and newsmen. In the six months of our study, U.S.N.W.R. was the most frequently used source of information (22 percent, 36). The papers' chief education (Time and Newsweek) with 34 percent, and its writers on science and culture (Newsweek, 74, Time, 74). Total news sources for this year included 111 news media.

U.S. News & World Report,
22 for Newsweek, and 36 for
Time.

This by itself is no measure of net value to the reader. Time and Newsweek summarize, which could conceivably be more useful than the lengthy primary documents published by U.S. News & World Report. And Time and Newsweek have considerable space to cultural intellectual-entertainment life, but U.S. News & World Report almost none.

But for political and economic reporting, Time and Newsweek plainly are outdistanced in space and detail by their younger rival.

this year, for example there were 144 such interviews with 27 corporations - of large corporations. There were almost none from labor or the opposite side of economic issues. The auto workers, however, even textual reprints from texts of the car manufacturing corporations, none from the union. On price, wages and working conditions, there was one from U. S. Steel, and of General Motors, Lester M. Blough, chairman of U. S. Steel, and Benjamin F. Fairless, president of the American Iron & Steel Institute but none from the opposite side.

Where the magazine searched out national stories, they tended to be on the side of the U.S.A.'s point. For example, on March 21 the magazine reported on news the monthly newsletter of the First National City Bank of New York. Its message was that Germany is more prosperous than England because Germany has a free enterprise system and England has a semi-socialist one. No presentation was made of the objectives at all, nor of any contrary factors in understanding the economic story.

11. Inclined, the particles slide and slide are biased toward

the Lawrence view. Of speech texts from 12 politicians, 11 are conservatives or conservative-moderates. (Styles Bridges, Harry Byrd, Lyndon Johnson, John Stennis) and only one (Hubert Humphrey) is in the other side of the Congressional spectrum.

On Jan. 21 a series of texts on the coming political campaign formed a republican-vernacular annotation debate by way of speeches selected by the editors. The three Republicans (President Eisenhower, Nixon and Sherman Adams) started off with three and three-tenths pages; the three Democrats (Sam Rayburn, H. Murray and Dean Acheson) were at the end with seven-tenths of one page, or only 18 per cent of the total space for that feature.

Typically in the magazine there is hard news, there is give-and-take, and, typically, there are legitimate individual sources accurately reproduced who add up to a solid net profit in space and emphasis for the Lawrence

This is not to say that anti-Lawrence opinions are excluded. In actual wordage, there are probably more in U.S. News & World Report than in Time, Newsweek, or, indeed, in the liberal New Rep-

Latin America. The Latin American and Red aspects of the effect is heavily emphasized in the story.

The most significant part used by Delbert Clark was an off-the-record item of an unbiased report in *U.S. News & World Report* on Latin American labor relations. According to Cordell Haskin, U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT:

"...and on the Latin American theme, it was necessary to bring up the role of the Communists. That did not fit the editorial mold. There was no evidence of fiddling with papers, themselves, only their interpretation in contrary currents."

This was the week of the Latin American mobs attacking Vice Presidents Nixon and Goldwater, and trying it in Algeria. The lead introduction said "V once faced last week on four continents."

Back of almost all of it was Communist direction.

Yet, it was plain that the French Army revolt was not Communist inspired. And Lawrence was the first to say that Communism was not the basic explanation for the mobs in Latin America. In fact, these points were borne out by statements of Latin American own correspondents.

Over the first-hand story of Robert Kleinman, U.S. News & World Report's correspondent, the magazine headline read: "Communist-supplied arms . . . played a major part. Communist and local leaders in Peru played still another role." It was in this situation that French officers finally returned.

But the story this headline deserved made almost the opposite point. Kleinman made much of "intimidation by right-wing leaders . . ." The only material in his story the headline could refer to was one sentence in the 17th paragraph "to win the Al-

gerian war. General M. Ben maintained that the flow of armed arms from neighboring Tunisia must be halted. Some of these arms come from Communists sources."

A boxed editorial extract from *U.S. News & World Report* announced "TRIUMPH IN CONFLICT" Rebel attacks have been necessary response to Communistitis. It is not a threat, except to itself."

"On in the striking feature "Oppression Around the World" the issue was "supported" by "Every time their firebreaks are with brickbats, the Communists will have time to pile around in the trouble spots of the business world . . ." Fifteen lines later it added that Communist revolutions may not be aiming primarily at weakening Washington, so much as getting rid of their own surplus problems.

Reiterating Internationalism of Lawrence appears in a dramatic play on Page 43 entitled "When U.S. Is Invaded, What Happens 48 Years Ago." It noted that 48 years ago when Mexico arrested seven American sailors and then refused to apologize or to release U.S. flag and give it back to the same American soldiers invading Mexico and occupied Vera Cruz for seven months. The display then reported that he contrast when the Vice President was spat on by mobs, American soldiers were sent only to nearby "quarters, not right into Venezuela."

The *U.S. News* repeated the theme a variation on Sept. 5 '68 in an article on the murder by King of the Congo Communists. It printed a two-page is-of-a-page display recalling 19th century American enforcement of payments by other countries, with the title—"In the Past When Americans Have Been Killed Or Attacked About . . ."

The theme "COMMUNISTS FORCING SHOOTINGS" over another piece of text that does not support it.

"On the spot, in South America, the answer comes quickly from leaders, from the people.

"Are South Americans going Red? No.

"What bothers them most? U.S. neglect, the U.S. press, U.S. trade barriers.

"What else? U.S. ties with dictators.

"Result? Angry neighbors."

Thus, two distinct lines appear in *U.S. News & World Report*: 1. Accurate reprints of interviews and public statements, plus, first-hand reports by the magazine's own correspondents, many of them unbiased reporting;

2. A selection process of the reprints and interviews which heavily weights them in quantity, "intensity" and presentation on the side of Lawrence's personal convictions, and in embellishment of the编辑的评论 which carry out the Editor's themes in headlines introductions and other presentations even when these embellishments are contrary to the reports themselves.

Many years ago, Delbert Clark said:

"In some ways Lawrence is the most skillful of all the Washington columnists: he has the ability to appear sweetly reasonable while making the most highly pre-faced statements of opinion . . ."

Clark was talking of Lawrence's personal column, but a study of *U.S. News & World Report* leads one to much the same conclusion. It also causes doubt as to the validity of the claim:

"The news pages are written by other staff members independently of these editorial views."

130 NEWS AND 115 FOUND

In the June 13, 1952, issue of "U.S. News & World Report" there was a column of "news" concerning America's Supreme Court which reflected a point of view that took up about a page.

A short, inspirational paragraph in the United States Supreme Court building printery showed the

EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW'

The display celebrated the 100th anniversary that President Truman's seizure of the steel industry during a labor dispute was unconstitutional. In undisguised admiration of the court, the display said that no dictatorship is possible in the United States because the court is a "barrier to dictatorship" and in order for tyrants to reign:

"... the Supreme Court must be challenged... or it loses its power."

In small print at the bottom it said "Copyright, 1952, U.S. News Pub. Corp."

A study of the magazine in 1958 makes the 1952 display hard to believe. In issue after issue the Supreme Court and its justices are not in articles are published, implying that it is dominated by "left-wing" law clerks, the Editor of course, in his pronouncements as "illegal" and

the result's as "law" this quote from the same publication is given: "COURT IS TRYING TO GET TO THE SAME POINTS, AND IT'S GOING TO DO IT IN A MANNER WHICH IS DIFFERENT FROM HAVING TO MARCH SLOWLY."

What happened to change the course of the eyes of U.S. News & World Report—from a dictator's "barrier" in 1952 to a Communist "comfort" in 1958? And to change the Editor who in 1952 wrote a book, "There is No Man" in fervent praise of the United States Supreme Court?

A study of the magazine leads one to the conclusion that it was the single act of the U.S. Supreme Court banning racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

The unspoken is that this decision set off a powerful trauma and that the magazine picks at the wound every week.

Not one week passed in the entire year of 1958 without a reference to racial integration. The references were sometimes straight news, sometimes highly pertinent opinions accurately recorded, but often a reaching out by the editors for material—accurately recorded—which in its net impact carried out the feelings against the Supreme Court decision.

The lead reference in headlines and stories was not to

"Integration," but the more emotional term, "racial mixing." "... President Eisenhower sent troops to force the mixing of the races" (Dec. 27, 1957); "... racial mixing in schools in 1958" (Jan. 3, 1958); "to force racial mixing" (Jan. 1), etc., and so on during the year.

The high incidence of integration news is by no means poor news judgment. Many would agree that Negro-white relations are the major domestic problem in the United States in our time. Exposure of news, opinion and study fills a real need. Advocacy of one side or the other is in the tradition of free discussion. But the quiet leading of "news" presentation is not.

It is "quiet" in U.S. News & World Report because it is largely by use of the words of others and because it is by means of the weight of space and emphasis, rather than outright opposition, as is done quite appropriately in the Editor's page.

Recently on his editorial page, David Lawrence expressed his personal view of reality in the South when he wrote:

"... something the South understands and wishes the North could understand, too—that racial bitterness between whites and Negroes has never been characteristic of the South—David Lawrence, Editor."

Reaching Out for Segregation

As in political and economic areas, there are large quantities of anti-segregation views purchased. In the past—since not in the first six months of 1958—there have been 130 interviews with integration leaders, integra-

tional excerpts from Negro sources.

In addition, the argument can be made that the most dramatic news has been made by the segregationists and the most vocal arguments made by the South.

Despite these factors, there is evidence that U.S. News & World Report reaches out for segregationist views. And in absolute measure the magazine tells the reader more of the segregationist view than of the integrationist.

10-10-1952

U.S. News & World Report changes its opinion of Supreme Court between 1952, 1958.

In the first six months of 1968 the equivalent of 16 pages of race relations or critical court material appeared in the main news

More than a per cent of these items treated integrally with the other snows, it is to be expected or as causing trouble.

Thirteen per cent was neutral in their impact.

... a comment was approved
for publication in an article
viewing the "second edition" of
the *MS. Marques*, the maga-
zine issued at Belo Horizonte,
in which from the very
first publication it stridently
urged the reply that
it had worked well!

Race relations show up
everywhere in the most un-
likely places. On Jan. 3 the
Daily Worker reported that a
Chicago white woman had started
"racial mixing." Two weeks
later, the Daily Worker reported
that a Negro woman had
been arrested for racial mixing.
The two stories are typical of
the kind of stories that appear in
the papers with the quick refer-

the other side of the
island is very flat,
so that when in the open
country

and the Negroes have largely populated the South and the West, the Negroes in the South have largely immigrated to the North, where they now form a major element in the population. The opinion that the Southern Negro is still well represented in the enforcement of the school segregation laws is not held by the Negroes in New York City's integrated schools.

On April 4 "Wordgram," from the Children of the World, Moscow, Berlin, Paris, etc., said:

Strategy of U.S. Tanks
is to be used in the
war against Germany.
It is to be used in
the war against
Russia.

D.C., where officials estimate that one-fourth of Washington's Negro children are illegitimate." A couple of weeks later a sympathetic member of the electorate at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, wrote:

Mr Albrecht . . . Lien of the Transvaal," in South Africa where there is "strictly enforced racial segregation," and a few weeks later another item on Union of South Africa "Where Racial Barriers keep Going Higher South Africa is now turning to more and more segregation as the answer to its racial problems," quoting only pro-Skin sources.

While a reasonable reader would not dispute any item on integration, the tone and direction of the pattern of coverage is almost obsessively anti-integrationist. Friends of David Lawyer say this is out of character with him, though he is a longtime resident of Washington and Virginia. He has printed material against group prejudice. Yet, the

which is to come up in
the next few months
is the probability
that the South will accept
desegregation.

Editorial coverage of the
situation has been
mostly negative.
The magazine
has given
several items on "Easier Way" to
integrate schools, but
however, has also given
such editorials as "Let's Get
Out of This Thing," and
"Little Rock Notch." In
the former, it is claimed, with
FBI agents who were reported
to be the regular guards of
the school, to the
Senate to point the new civil
rights law.

The step-by-step formal
chronology of events leading
to the bus, which is to be
based as a calendar has 66
per cent of its three pages
devoted to direct and indirect
editorials on Civil Rights.

A five-page layout, "Polit-
ical Leaders and Editors See

Up Front," gives 10 per
cent of its space to
the subject of desegregation,
and 10 per cent to the
Southern governors.
However, is not enough
space given to the
opposition?

For example, in the following
newspaper clipping from the
U.S. magazine it can be seen
that the view is the "U.S. side" in
the same issue quoting an
editorial from an English
Catholic newspaper questioning
whether the Roman Catholic Church
should regard segregation in
schools as morally wrong.

Catholic View on Segregation
(July 12) is typical—over-
whelmingly official Catholic
view has been against segre-
gation.

Of all editorial and news
material in that issue 77 per
cent was essentially anti-seg-
regation, 12 per cent
for presentation, 10 per cent
was neutral, and 1 per cent
was pro-integration. The 4

per cent was the rest of the
President's television address
to the nation.

While segregationists did
raise news that music, so did
news supporting the Supreme
Court's integration. The
magazine did not publish the
text of the federal judge's
judgment against violence in
Little Rock, nor the Presi-
dential nomination before he
arrived in the U.S. nor the
text of the Civil Army
order issued to the high school
students; nor the words of J.
F. C. Tolson and Clau-
der in Washington, D.C.; nor
the text of a statement by the
Rev. Billy Graham, a South-
erner condemning the
violence and favoring integration,
even though U.S. News & World Report had devoted
a cover story to Billy Graham
two days before.

Thus if one characterized
the treatment by U.S. News
& World Report of integration—and of other issues with
which the Editor strongly
disagrees—one could say that it
records dutifully the official
news and some of the opposition
and it presents with
enthusiasm, imagination and
overwhelming space the ideas
dearest to his heart.

150. -

U.S. News & Crystal Ball

"Don't never prophesy—only ye know."

This is a grandfather's ad-
vice to James Paul of Lowell
and a wise adage in certain
religious books respecting

prophecy. It is a weakness
which the satiric "Josh
Whitehead" invents an
apostle as David Lawrence in
his U.S. News & World Report
is guilty of this minor
transgression.

The magazine, more than
any other news weekly, is devoted to heavy
portions of full texts, ver-
batim, of news stories
as they come and there in
the pages of its growing
magazine tops at the wine
of prophecy.

This is, perhaps, a natural
weakness for a magazine
that started as a financial
report. The financial re-
ports the pressmen in
Washington and New York
make out best when
have a special typeface for
forecasters printed in blue, in
typewriter type, giving the
impression that the editor
has just received a tin so hot
he sat right down, typed it
out and ran it to the mail-
box.

Thus a number of pages
in U.S. News & World Report
are typed paper typed
with imitation typewriter
type and filled with a
pourri of news flashes, general
background conditions,

and forecasts. They are called
such names as "Tomorrow,
Newsgram," and "Washington
Whispers," and "Trend
of Business." U. S. News &
World Report is said to have
been the first to introduce
the colored-page, imitation
typewriting to regular magazines.

Has it been a noteworthy
contribution to public information?

The magazine's general
business forecasters have a good
reputation among business-
men, and in 1957 it had the
satisfaction of having pre-
dicted quite accurately the
current recession. Although,
like many a prophet, it began
to get nervous when the time

U.S. News & World Report
March 21, 1958

For the first time in history, the cost of living can be in this world.

Cost of living will rise from \$1,000 to \$1,100 from 1957 to 1958. It's to be \$1.50 a year, \$1.50 a month. The cost of living will be \$1,100 in 1958.

On March 21, 1958 U.S. News & World Report made this forecast concerning taxes.

In addition to currency controls and a latest recession:
A tax of one cent per day is proposed by Government.

A 10% surcharge was not enough. It must be 20%. Gains built up to profits and gains of business... all other types worked so hard.

Three-and-a-half months later U.S. N & W R has this to say about taxes.

...the air began to change Jan. 3, 1958. "There was a growing sense that the drop in output was indeed a long-term trend, threatening to last out early in the new year."

But when it moves out of the business arena into the political, it becomes much more blunt. One crystal ball seems to cloud Kirby in 1957. It devoted its cover article to "What's Coming on Ike's Second Term."

Among other things, it assured its reader "... American influence and power will be felt throughout the non-Communist world. Communism in U.S. period is more likely to decline rather than grow in its areas and influence. It is entirely possible that at the end of a second Eisenhower administration, the United States will be without a real rival in all the world in terms of military and political and industrial power." In the same issue American power and influence is to push into the Middle East. It notes from U.S. tax lawyers and a warning that "United States will fight to maintain its trading sta-

bility to countries of that area and to stop the Soviet Union from overtaking us. A 10% surcharge on business profits will be introduced in second term. Unemployment is not expected to become a major problem at any point in the four years ahead. It's well to take pleasure.

The second term is not yet over, so it seems safest to suspend judgment on the above forecast and merely wait two prophet days. Let me now be forgiven for questioning the prophecy. As in earlier on May 20 this year it said: "Washington, From the Capitals of the World... Violence in Lebanon was expected to die down in face of U.S. power" and the next week added: "In fact, odds are against any call for U.S. to send in troops to help Lebanon's pro-Western Government. One week after that the prophet looked up and said: "U.S. can expect peace to break out in Lebanon right away."

Not much weaker on the magazine but a bit flatly: "Washington Whispers... Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia

is going to retire next May as President of the nation and as Communist Party secretary."

On Dec. 27, 1957 "Washington Whispers" said: "Christian Herter under secretary of state, is reported by his friends to be unhappy over ... fact that he does not play a larger role in policy making..." One week later, Washington whispered back: "Christian Herter, under secretary of state, has no intention of giving up the State Department post he holds, despite reports to the contrary indicating dissatisfaction with his job."

For the benefit of any misinformed readers, U.S. News & World Report said May 30: "It turns out that the Central Intelligence Agency knew about the Communist plots in South America to embarrass Vice President Nixon..." The misinformed reader could conceivably have got the idea from U.S. News & World Report the week before when it said: "Washington Whispers... This country's Central Intelligence Agency, counted upon to know in advance what is to happen in foreign

and the first from the newest
Time has come out of nowhere.
It is not its usual style, but
merely a short, direct, the
point of the picture,
and it is the most interesting
example of the journalistic technique
of the magazine, which
was the reason of its early
success in the papers and
newspapers.

It is a simple, clear
story, told in the
style of the magazine,
but it is not written
in the language of
the magazine, which
is the beginning of the beginning
it is copied from a small town
newspaper, *Armenia*, Vol. 1,
No. 1 of Time magazine,
dated March 23, 1923, and:

"Mrs. H. H. Votaw and
Miss Arthur Hardwick, sisters

of the president of the United
States, arrived at Buenos
Aires from Montevideo. They
were received by some enthu-
siasts of the American Firm
and the Argentine Foreign
Office."

For a year or so an
event would have taken on
the importance of a sub-
regional newspaper. By
that time Time was using
"news" in its super-
superioristic form of writing
text and manufactured
sentiment. This was the era
of Time characters that al-
ways talked the dramatic
talk. "As it went to all
men, death came last week
to . . ." It was the era of
"cinematograph" for "movie
fan" and the formula whereby
an obscure or rare word

was used every few hundred
lines with a footnote explain-
ing what it meant (the idea
was to give the middle-brow
reader of Time the feeling
that by . . . the man who
he was in the intellectual big
league did it with no strain
on his intelligence).

In recent years Time has
achieved literary respectability.
While it still tries to
pronounce the news in tones
of Divine Authority, it usually
does it in recognizable
English prose, some of it
highly effective. It could deser-
be the late Senator Dilbo
of Mississippi:

"He was a wretched, sick
and snarling little man. But
he had the voice of a brass
trumpet blaring venom and
racism."

An Imitation, With Tired Words

Newsweek has appeared to
imitate these styles. But
since Time is informative,
precise words, Newsweek
tended to use flat and tired
ones. Where Time confidently
issued the news like Moses
Received the Decree Word

Modern Avenue dialect,
Newsweek does often
use a cut-and-dried
style of and the
message comes out in the
action of Main Street.

This is the significance of
the two stories using conser-
vational sources for news. In
Newsweek, for example, the
facts can come from The New
York Times, the New York
Herald Tribune, the Associated
Press, United Press Interna-
tional and Reuters, but
after the reader sees it as
absolute truth souped up with
a few bold Street adjectives,
on June 1, Newsweek wrote:

"On Memorial Day at In-
glewood, New Jersey, me-
chanics turned up the power-
ful lawnmowing cars and 33
truckloads of red sand"

Or, like routine news
and so on, classes find them-
selves drawn in the meta-
phors that burden bad news-

paper copy freshman themes
and other thin croissants on
the flat oil board.

"Esther's company is Inter-
national Swimming Pool
Corp., which, like all others,
is splashing its way to new
records this year a
surprise to many more

On June 11, 1923, the
newspaper of the last-mentioned
organization, the Newsweek
of course, has flat the mystery
trotting forth off the glasses."

Another instance of News-
week that detracts from its
value is a newspaper is its
persistent self-promotion. It
is continually telling the
reader what a splendid job
Newsweek is doing in carrying
the news, particularly on the
newsmagazine theory that
readers have trouble putting
the facts together.

It is not unusual for the
editors of Newsweek to use
10 per cent of the issue in
an important interview or
story telling the reader about
Newsweek. History could
conveniently look back with
awe at the American offer to
ban nuclear bombs. But if it looks back to Newsweek
it will find that on Septem-

ber 1 the magazine used the
first 30 per cent of its lead
page on the story to tell the
reader that Newsweek had
said this was going to happen.

On the other hand, News-
week's approach to the news
plan is more conversational
and thus more readily judged
by the reader than is Time's.
The magazine often publishes
first-rate special articles on
large themes. And it is surprising
its rivals in regularly
printing reports under the
signatures of real, identifiable
human beings.

U.S. News & World Report,
except for some of its foreign
reports, usually ascribes even
eye-witness stories to its
"Board of Editors." Time is a
collective effort, and unlike
even the Bible, offers the
reader no clue as to who
wrote stories that express
highly individual value judgments.

Newsweek and Time both
have back-of-the-book depart-
ments reporting and com-
menting on special topics in
American arts, sciences and
entertainment that provide
material usually overlooked
in the daily press. (While
there is evidence that News-

was a "Journalist's Journal" for
Newspapermen, and the
newspapermen's section in it
was written by the
Press section in it. The Herald-
Tribune has omitted any

of it, however, the remainder of
the section is still in the
Times. In it, one of the chief
topics of discussion is that the
paper was printing heavy ad-
vertisements from the Bo-

rman Publishing Co., a note-
worthy subject on American
press media that probably
would have gone unnoticed in
the daily press.)

THE NEWSWEEK OF JUNE 13, 1937, AND THE NEW YORK TIMES OF JUNE 13,

Newsweek does not seem to
have been influenced by a desire
to emphasize its editorial
aspects or its news personality
as do Times and U.S.
Business Week.

The leading editor of Newsweek is Malcolm Lair, Educated at Yale since 1917, who has been working all his life, with heavy emphasis on business and sales. He had been president of McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., where he had edited in the past in of several trade publications and of the now highly successful magazine, Business Week. His strength was said to be sales training. Some firms and papers for which he was known in publishing circles were, "Breaking Down Sales," "How to Sell," "Sales Selling," "Shadows of State Socialism," and "National Dangers of the Thirty-Hour Week." In 1937 Vincent Astor and Avery Harriman became members of the board, which had been printing a magazine called News-Week from 1933. They brought Mr. Lair to head the enterprise. Astor became chairman of the board and still is; Harriman became a director, no longer is. Lair took out the hyphen and added ease "W" in the title and added the formula of news (current), a special of the day during the war and immediately after war the magazine produced some notable special features. But the elder Lair has always remained interested primarily in the fiscal and financial strength of the publication. He is a director of the National Association of Manufacturers and other prominent business organizations.

Executive Editor of the magazine is his son, Malcolm Lair Jr., who spent the early

years of his career with the United Press and with newspapers.

This Newsweek appears to many to reflect the reporting tendencies of its editor. At the same time Newsweek shows heritancy in placing completely into general drama in the news, which some ascribe to the conventional news disciplines learned earlier by the executive editor.

The magazine appears less unified and more loosely edited, and this, too, seems to add to its reputation of being less biased in its presentation of the news than Time.

Nevertheless, Newsweek seems compelled to do what Time does but in a different way. Yet, the high ways of Time and self-congratulations of Newsweek arise for the most part from the same sources as those in the imperfect daily press.

Taking one issue of Newsweek at random, June 13, one finds that the main news section, National Affairs, carries information which is 53 per cent identical with news in The New York Times for the days during which Newsweek was being compiled. There is a heavy concentration in the magazine of Times items from the days Wednesday, Thursday, Friday—in which Newsweek is selecting its major stories.

In that issue of Newsweek there is one story in which the order of facts and a stretch of language is identical with the New York Times, although this conceivably could be coincidence.

In addition the interpretation that Newsweek rests on news events, particularly foreign events, appears to

follow closely The New York Times editorial of that week.

One can speculate on the hungry eye of the editor who reads the Times. On Page 23 of the June 13 issue of Newsweek there is a story entitled: DISASTER, Toll of the Wreckers. It blends three separate news items into a single theme. Two are of tornadoes striking Wisconsin (the facts in Newsweek match exactly those in an Associated Press report), and of a grasshopper plague in the Southwest (the facts for which match those in The New York Times report). A third item was far-fetched for the DISASTER theme, reporting that volunteer hurricane watchers had started to collect dimes. One may speculate that the Newsweek editor saw the grasshopper story on Page 21 of The New York Times of June 7 and just below it by chance on the same page a rottin' story on the hurricane watchers (with facts that match exactly those that appeared in Newsweek).

A reasonable reader could hardly argue with the use by Newsweek and Time of reliable, conventional sources of news, like The New York Times and the Associated Press. But one might question the air of superior knowledge, the self-promotion and the dogmatic judgments of news displayed by the magazines without providing the reader with some sign of the source. Unlike the newspaper and wire service sources of much of the reporters' facts, Newsweek and Time leave the reader with a set of opinions and almost no room to judge the meaning of news for himself. They provide little clue as to whose opinion he is reading.

The Dazzling of Omnidience

A recent issue of Newsweek carries a story about the "dazzling of the public by the magazine." It says: "It is a well-known fact of many years, however, that most of short-lived fads disappear."

The date of Nagy's death was printed in the magazine of July 17, but it was not noted on front pages anywhere six days earlier (in "Time").

In the issue of Newsweek we see on "Tuesday the 17th" the news of the death of a man they reported alive six days later.

There is no doubt that this was no accident with considerable craftsmanship. For on the Tuesday before "Time," the Associated news agency announced the execution of Nagy by the Hungarian news agency. Editors were on their Monday-Tuesday "weekend." They had sent the message to the presses Saturday night with the "news" of the demand for Nagy's trial. This announced Nagy's death on Tuesday; the magazine first hit the newsstands on Wednesday.

Like most magazines, Newsweek puts an advanced date on the magazine for understandable commercial rea-

sons. It is easier to keep paper off the shelves the longer it sits around a prospective buyer. Thus at the magazine he is less apt to think that it is "last week's" issue.

All the Big Three newsmagazines, however, violate this rule of the date they send news firstness and the date on the magazine, and all of them have a wide gap between the day they appear and the date on the cover. It is no major sin. It is of interest chiefly because it is part of the magazine's tone that makes it necessary to know everything, or to appear to know everything, and to give the reader the feeling that he is privileged to peer with the editors into the future, or at least into the secret of the past and the present.

Many of the correspondents who provide material for this mystical insight are considered "inside" men within the tribe. And on more than one occasion they have dug out newer, better and more important news than the daily-newspapers.

But in their daily operations the editors of the maga-

zines violate the strict rules of conventional news reporting whereby the reader is supposed to be told where the news comes from. This is a discipline on reporters, preventing mere rumors, planted items and reporters' wishes and opinions from being presented as facts. And it provides the reader with some basis for judging the seriousness, significance and reliability of the news.

All news organizations from time to time use material with only a vague source specified: "a high official" or "diplomatic sources." These are sometimes first-hand official statements of importance given on condition that the correspondent not give the source, for diplomatic reasons. Or else in the judgment of the correspondent a story is basically sound and important to print, even though no individual will let his name back it up (in which case the editor may if the correspondent gives the reader a guide). But these are special cases in most news organizations, and the whole weight of professional practice is to tell the reader both the news and where it came from.

Just the News, or Wishes, Too?

Unhampered by such rules, the newsmagazine editor can write news that is more readable, at the same time so few persons, for example, would argue with the scrupulousness and usefulness of *The New York Times*' view of the "war," but the lack of restraint in the news magazines often permits the news to be more misleading and more antagonistic than the news warrant, giving the reader little hint as to when

the news stops, and the editorial utilizing begins, or when the facts end and editorial dogma takes over.

In the June 23, 1958, *Newsweek*, for example, one reads:

"... the extreme right is not only far larger, uncontrolled in Algeria but are rapidly gaining strength in France itself."

The same week in *Time* one reads of the same rightists:

"abandoned by their ideals

and outflanked by the Army—which has quietly taken over almost all key posts in the Algerian civil administration—the diehards had little choice but to make what amounted to a humiliating confession of defeat."

In *Newsweek*: "rapidly gaining strength."

In *Time*: "a humiliating confession of defeat."

When Secretary of State Dulles appeared before a hostile Senate committee, *News-*

"... I don't know exactly what it means," he said. "I think it's just that they're doing their best to keep us from getting back into the war. In the long run, the same result." Dulles responded quickly at the test question, and was interrupted.

"I'm not going to say anything about it," he said. "I'd much rather speak at another time, the same place."

Time concluded: "... Dulles and his Senate friends were sticking to their guns. ... U.S. News & World Report said of Dwight Eisenhower's first postwar appearance in '52:

"Voice . . . harsher than reported. Not much warmth."

Time the same week said: "They liked him for his 'mild, vigorous manner of speech.'

Two weeks later U.S. News & World Report said:

"Dwight D. Eisenhower . . . found himself down in the bewildering wonderland of big-league politics . . . so far as neutral observers could tell, the Eisenhower side seemed to be losing as many skirmishes now as was winning."

Time at about the same period on Eisenhower:

"They like him because he typifies the . . . ugly good campaigner . . . for his quiet control."

In the June 13, 1953 U.S. News & World Report,

"Why are six Soviet fishing boats stationed constantly off the East Coast of Canada? . . . That riddle has puzzled U.S. and Canadian officials for nine months."

In Newsweek, dated three days later:

"Tentative Pipeline: Navy Headquarters - Navy officials here insist there is no indication that those Soviet trawlers . . . Newfoundland are on any other mission. . . . As for recent press reports that the boats are up to no good, a well-informed officer says 'There's nothing else but quiet over the horizon.'"

Two weeks later U.S. News & World Report had

another answer to the question. It said: "Western intelligence sources insist that the 11 Soviet fishing boats are . . . 'mappers' . . . 'mapping' areas around America . . . 'intelligence boats' . . . trawlers used to sweep the seas."

The New York Newsweek had a different, but also related, interpretation:

"THEIR FISHING SNOOPING CLOSE TO HOME - WHY? While the Navy still publicly insisted that the Soviet 'fishing' fleet off the New-England and Canadian coasts, June 16, 1953, was only interested in fish, intelligence reports were somewhat more candid. It seems that they . . . are serving as floating headquarters for Russian ships which are jamming U.S. radar in Iceland, and . . . carrying important electronic installations in the Boston area . . ."

On June 23 Newsweek displayed its June 16 item proudly as a sign of its authority, although its June 23 story was the reverse of the one on June 16.

Where does this leave the reader? First, U.S. News & World Report says "U.S. and Canadian officials" are "puzzled."

Time says "top officials" and "a well-informed officer" are not puzzled at all that the boats are just fishing. Then U.S. News & World Report, which had previously reported "U.S. and Canadian officials" puzzled reported that "Western intelligence officials" are not puzzled but know the boats are mapping the sea. "Poorly informed U.S. and Canadian officials were still puzzled, the 'Western intelligence officials' must be Western European or Latin American, a grave commentary on North American intelligence! But Newsweek, when faced at the gate to test the reader its "top officials" and "well-informed officer" were not being "caused. Finally told the reader that "intelligence reports" have the boats jamming radar.

Using the same vague references, Newsweek in May employed the same language, but added the last sentence and recommended correctly to a larger audience: "Intimate of the Presidency," "Newsweek," etc.

"Far from getting him down, they said, the trip of course to Europe was an indication that Mr. Eisenhower felt genuinely confident about the Administration's ability to handle problems facing the nation . . ."

A normally skeptical reader might take in re documentation for the claim that a man loses his temper because he feels so good. And a reader of the news magazine might be excused if occasionally he becomes skeptical when the glib, authoritative, rootless conclusions change from week to week, and from magazine to magazine.

The important point is not that interpretations and conclusions differ. Honest reasonable men often differ in their view of the same scene. In the handling of news this ordinarily acts as a discipline: there is an obligation to let the reader know what is documented fact, what is rumor, what is wishful thinking, and what is personal opinion. In the news media, particularly Newsweek and Time, little distinction is made. The operating rule is that the world must be presented as clear, black-and-white, and interpreted with positive authority.

Above all, it must also be highly readable. As the publisher of Newsweek reported of a survey in his weekly column on Nov. 7, 1957:

". . . Articles in Newsweek are more readable than those in other news and business magazines. . . . In another phase of the testing, it was found that the Newsweek test article was more thoroughly comprehended than articles from the other magazines. . . ."

"That is," the Publisher added, apparently uncertain that he had been thoroughly comprehended, "the reader retained more of what he read in Newsweek."

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on May 3, 1954, the FBI has told by letter that it has checked up on the source.

* * * Periscope, the first issue of the year to appear in publication, was first printed in Newsweek in 1937.

Remarkable for its accuracy, it has been receiving recognition as the result of the combined efforts of a well-integrated editorial group and a large corps of strategically placed confidential correspondents. It is easily read throughout the world and its influence is growing.

Since prophecy seems to be a combination that newsmen... find hard to resist, it is rewarding to study Newsweek's accuracy in the issue reporting "remarkable accuracy." In that May 3, 1954, Periscope section, for example, the finds:

The Inside Story, The White House. — The inner circle here is predicting that ex-Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., now U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain, will replace Sherman Adams as Ike's White House chief of staff.

Four years later this "inside story" but fails to reach the outside world. Ultimatively, Sherman Adams did resign, some 1500 days later, but was not replaced by Mr. Lodge.

"Accuracy of the "well-integrated editorial group" to be found in the Newsweek item that same week:

Military Schools, Tokyo—Look for Brig. Gen. Don Zimmerman of the Far East Air Force . . . to head up the faculty at the new Air Force Academy."

The editorial group could have known about this, or it could have looked behind 10 days to the April 23 New York Times which carried an official announcement of General Zimmerman's appointment as dean of the fac-

ulty of the Air Force Academy.

The same Periscope column said:

"Behind the Curtains Oslo . . . It is becoming more and more clear here that Franz Josef Land, in the Arctic Sea, is the most likely jumping-off place for any . . . in an atomic attack against the U.S."

The item neglected to specify behind which curtain the strategically placed confidential correspondent found Oslo, Norway.

Of all the Periscope forecasts and inside tips on national and international affairs of the "remarkable accuracy" issue of May 3, 1954, 52 per cent were too vague or were impossible to judge or check and therefore useless to the reader (such as the Franz Josef Land item).

Another 20 per cent were printed elsewhere first.

Eighteen per cent were correct. (This included items like one saying President Eisenhower would spend two months in Denver "this summer." The general rumor had been printed elsewhere first, and the President spent two autumn months there, but the item was counted correct.)

Twenty-nine per cent proved wrong.

In addition to what others the Newsweek Periscope issues from the regular news sources of the sumptuous world of Music, Movies, etc. The May 3 issue had three items on "Perispecting TV-Radio" of which one was wrong, one was partly wrong (and the remainder obvious), and the third had been printed elsewhere first and was based on a publicity release.

The issue also "Perispected" music of three items, two were wrong, one partly wrong.

In Perispecting movies, of

four items, one was totally wrong (as may be noted), one was from a Hollywood release, and the fourth was partly right.

These are the results from one issue, selected at the urging of the publisher. If one takes a broader sample—the first three months of 1954—the percentage of success and usefulness is not much different.

Of the main Periscope section during this period, 17 per cent was accurate and apparently printed first in Newsweek.

Some 46 per cent consisted of items so obvious or so vague or so beyond confirmation that they were useless to the reader. An example is the March 18 item: "You can look for the coming investigation of the AFL-CIO Teamsters Union to be even more . . . than the Teamsters hearings." It is perfectly accurate that the reader could look for this, if he chose. If he did look he might have trouble deciding if the Teamsters hearings were more ghastly yellow than the Teamsters'. But this item was counted in the too-vague-or-impossible-to-check category rather than wrong, as later Teamster disclosures might justify.

Ten per cent of the items had been printed elsewhere first, one of them two months earlier.

Twenty-seven per cent were wrong.

Some wrong items: "Democratic Chairman Paul Butler has finally and definitely tipped intimates he plans to resign in May." Eighteen months later this final and definite tip had failed to materialize.

Another was the prediction that David Beck, the teamster official, would stay in Europe, a forecast printed in the Newsweek dated the day

• The first, dedicated to the
• "Truth" of the day.
• The second, to the
• "Truth" of the week,
• The third, to the
• "Truth" of the month.
• The fourth, to the
• "Truth" of the year.

This writer, between my fifth
and sixth years, in 1951, for
Providence, did.

The fifth, "Truth" of the year
was the most difficult to
produce, but it was the
most important. It was
the one that I had to
devote my best time to
make it a success.

Eighteen months later
with Carolyn Lloyd and Brit-
ish Foreign Service News
we wrote and put out a promotional
letter offering, "free
copy of my."

"MAGNIFICENT FORE-
SIGHT" You will first
know what's ahead with un-
canny. Perhaps pre-
dictions."

No. 6

The Magazine and The Truth

THEIR OWN, owner,
editor and agent
of the magazine of Time
is the most powerful

"The owner-editor cannot
have a personal
connection with every as-
pect of his paper."

The problem of Truth in
this case is an old one. In
connection with the
problem of the press, at
least, it is the problem of
success. It is the biggest,
brightest and most powerful
of the three governmen-
tional organs of communica-
tion of 2,103/00. It is the
organization for the publishing
of the "Time," "Life," "Time
and "People" News. This
includes International
Life International, Life on
Eduard Koenig & Hone. Ar-
ticle, a magazine and a con-
siderable number of radio-
TV shows.

To the millions of middle-class
Americans it is the interpreter
of national and world affairs.
It agents of government get their major impression
of the United States
from it. The United States
Information Agency last year
distributed 1,800,000 copies
of its 600 publications
as part of the American
propaganda effort.

On Staff

Time, which has 500 career-
men selected, selected staff
members capable of the most
keen performance of all

most any publication in the
country. It has the largest
network of information
available in the United
States, in terms of intensive
coverage of particular subjects.
In other words, it is
distinctive, showing by
means of its coverage
of other magazines and
of many newspapers.

The "Time" always in
connection with the
question that the broad-
based types of journalism in-
here.

When it has a mind to,
Time can make the possi-
bilities of a news event more
improbable than almost
any other news organization
in the world.

The man of news writing and
editing is flat, sometimes
brilliant.

It is the "Truth."

The character of Truth in
terms of international and
current policies must
have worried the editors of
Time occasionally. But if so
they have spared the reader
this human doubt. Each week
the world is created at odds
and doomsday, the bad guys
on one side, the bad guys on
the other, with Time holding
the no scorecard. Only when
the reader creeps back does
he discover that the simple
word of "Truth" often means
messy complications as the next,
or that the good guy of October
may be the bad guy of January, that Truth and Time
change.

Examples Given:

For example, was it the
Truth when Time reported
Dwight Eisenhower's appear-
ance at the start of his 1952
campaign in Abilene in the
June 16, 1952, issue:

"They saw Ike, and they
liked what they saw."

"They liked him because he
turned out to be an amazingly
good campaigner . . . They
had him for his style, his
genius manner of speech, for
his quiet control . . . It was a
crushing conquest."

Or was it the Truth when,
after the campaign, in over
Time in its issue of Nov. 3,
1952, described that same
week in Abilene:

"At first the echoes were
not strong. Ike . . . as a
political candidate . . . did not
quite 'come across' . . . his
voice was flat, he looked like
an old man on TV . . ."

Time, during the 1952 cam-
paign:

". . . Stevenson tore into
this straw man . . . the Demo-
cratic candidate made a care-
ful pitch . . . In the same
speech, Stevenson got in a
reference to aid to India,
which is getting to be the
stock Democratic way of
challenging the subject on
China."

Time, four years later:

". . . Stevenson of 1952, a
man meticulously concerned
with facts . . ."

Time, before Adlai Steven-
son became a presidential
candidate:

'Times' May Depend on Its Accuracy'

By JOHN R. HANCOCK
Editor of the *Providence Journal-Bulletin*
and author of *Journalism*
and *How to Write*

Surveys show that
this may be news that
the American public may
not want to hear in
Times," says

"Objectivity" is not
necessarily to be found in
particular. In a single event it
is not always easy to tell
what the truth is. The
writer of the article does
not have to be wrong or
to make a statement
of his own knowledge
and the identity of the
truth.

The dominant rule in Ameri-
can journalism is objectivity,
or the reporting of facts with
a minimum of the reporter's
opinions about them.
This is not always true. As
Time has said in its Press
Survey, "It's not
The Fetish of Objectivity."

One of the most trenchant
newspaperistic cliches is
that let the facts speak for
themselves. The typical news-
reporter "lets in" all the facts
he can get at, but they
are not necessarily in proper order and
perspective — and this is
interpreted by an honest journal-
ist.

"A newspaper is what the
reporter collects in the facts
and what he makes of them
based on the facts." Or
as the late George Orwell
wrote, "It is only the facts
that bear it out."

There is abundant evidence
that in its General Affairs
and Foreign News sections
Time's hand is more up be-
hind the scenes than out
on the front lines. It has
organized its departments in
the back of the magazine —
Finance, Economics, Education,
Health, the Home, Pres-
s, Farm, City & Family, Science,
and Travel — score high
in imagination and taste.

In these departments

Time's inherent bias seems
to operate without the re-
tarding influence that focuses on
politics and As a policy.

In America's politics and
foreign news, Time's reporting
appears to be governed by an iron rule: when the
times fit the mold of Time's
wishes the reporting can be
superb; when they do not fit
the mold, Time's reporting can
be so distorted as to raise
serious doubts about re-
sponsible journalism and
accuracy.

It was precisely then in
November 1937 that the
exclusion-first-etc.-first
problem appeared in the back
of the news line in the Times
Section. Here, in a piece entitled
"Is It Time for the
Slump?", Time concluded that in general American
newspapers were suppressing
recessional news stories. It said: "Newspapers from battle to Navarre were doing
their unlevel best to baffle their way through one of the nation's greatest and most
potent social crises, the recession."

Was this true?

It is certainly possible.

What evidence did Time present?

It did not report that for
months business economists and participants had been
contesting that the business
press was sensationalizing the
slump and trying to deepen
it. Time itself has called
such reports "governments."

(Time) reporting it also
also found save savings, as
on Nov. 11, 1937. "Evidently,
the U.S. was still more productive and pros-
perous than any nation in
history. This, however,
said word I continue to be
a "husky and growing
thing." For the record:
"The theory was, in the nation's economic picture is not
the statistical aspect but the
mood. . . . Despite the recent
drops, the U.S. economy still

has a long way to go before
it approaches the slump of
1933-34 — which economists
now refer to as the 'gold-
plated' recession." Time, Dec.
9, 1937: "THE ECONOMIC
SQUEEZE, It Is More Ap-
parent Than Real." Time,
Dec. 30, 1937: "Anticipation
of recession was scarcer than
the realization. . . ."

To support its conclusion
that daily newspapers were
suppressing news of the re-
cession Time offered the
reader 14 specific items of
evidence.

No. 1 was its first sentence: "DECLINE HERE?
CAN'T BELIEVE IT!" head-
lined the Fort Worth Star-
Telegram on Page One last
week. This was a correct
quotation of the headline
and it was a story on the
rosy side, listing aircraft and
defense contracts in effect
locally. Time did not report
that the same newspaper
was regularly running even
bigger headlines on Page
One like the eight-column,
12-point banner:

TEXAS JOB ALLOWABLE
SLASHED TO ALL-TIME
LOW and the five-column,
72-point 5,200-40 JOBLESS.
While Time praised a few
papers for running financial
columnist Sylvia Porter, who
it said, reported the slump
realistically, it did not say
the Fort Worth Star-Tee-
gram carries Sylvia Porter.
Item No. 2 "Though more
than 50,000 workers are out
of jobs in Georgia's four largest
cities, the Atlanta Journal
has zealously kept the
state's slump off the front
page, and until last week,
even banned the word recess-
ion from its paper." This
appears to be inaccurate.
The Atlanta Journal earlier
sent its own reporters
through the state and then
ran on Page One their stories
telling of a serious depression
in agriculture, Georgia's ma-
jor activity. The term, "cur-

1944 1944-1945 1945
1945 1945-1946 1946

State No. 7. In fact American business people have been most anxious to get out of the country, and the result of the recent general strike has caused many Americans to leave. "Lynn" has been the first to leave, followed by others, such as the author's brother John, who has gone to his healthful New England brother "Mill-Hill" Projects to Boost Business. If the Herald & Examiner is correct with the story, it is reported on Page eight today's recession and economic depression had made it more prominent

Item No. 4. "Scripps-Howard Acquires Firestone Tire & Rubber Co." Part of the story on expansion plans for the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. plant without mentioning that 2600 of its 3000 employees have been laid off. This appears to be entirely inaccurate. The paper misleads by "denying" or "not mentioning" the fact mentioned in that week's statement by a company official that expansion isn't six months earlier. The Firestone spokesman said that it is

Report No. 5. "In Atlanta,
Ga., it was supposed the
news of a fire of 2,000
burned African workers
had not until it could report.

PEACEFUL VILLAGE OF THE BRIGHT
CLOUDS, CALIFORNIA, Aug. 13.—The
L. & N. R. R. has reached the
bay at Aug. 13. The At-
lantic Constitution morning
said of the San Joaquin
that it was safe, and the story
on Page One the true history of
Aug. 13. It is about half past eight
with a three-columned box. Print
on an inside page that after
noon 150 started on it to
try finding better jobs. In
weeks ran from month's
later when the company an
united it.

A count of the 13 items of evidence of suppression shows almost the same pattern throughout. In one case it reported the opposite of what an editor, noted for his integrity, says he told the Time reporter. In 2, display of headlines copied from newspapers, which Time presented as "HOPEFUL HEADLINES." "We didn't want to give our advertisers," it used headlines that reflected the editor's speeches and public statements; in one case the headline quoted was sarcastic, stressing the irony that things are bad at either, it showed small, moderate headlines while ignoring Page One six-point headlines, in the same paper. *TRINITY*, "SIX MP

In most or case, this part
of a head-dress did not and did
not represent the main por-
tion, which was the top, in
open work, & was
it represented a large two
handed sword or a part of a
national emblem, to cut this
out it must have been necessary
to take the scabbard a
quarter of an hour from an

No. 10

Time, Tone and Tainted Words

While Time has been
criticized for its
style, it is not the key to
its reportage.

... at that Time
at sea it was it. It
was the first news reported
in the New York Times,
the New York Herald Trib-

une, the Associated Press,
United Press International,
and its owners if in the field.

The key is now it is written in the nameplate of the editorial offices in the Rockefeller Center, New York.

Noel Laver, cousin of the late Briton Hadden, the man

Other business will be on a
list of a week earlier
or is getting slumpy
if planned.

Thus, of the 14 "facts" Time presented to the reader to support its conclusion, one was correct, two were apparently wrong (based on what men later say they said, granting they could conceivably have said something else in private earlier); six were so unrepresentative as to give an essentially false impression; and five were demonstrably false.

It is possible American daily newspapers did play down the recession, but it has not been proved by Time in any evidence it gave the reader.

One month after Time's story, its competitor Newsweek, reported: "HOW U.S. NEWSPAPERS ARE COV- ERING THE RECESSION . . . Wire-service logs showed that, in crudity of copy and the play it was getting, the recession was easily the biggest story of the spring sea- son . . . Syndicated writers shuttled in and out of hard- hit industrial centers . . . Most newsmen agreed it was their duty to report the story as they found it, whether the

This, too, could be unrepresentative, since the magazine drew its own conclusions from its own collection of cases.

It gives added substance to the Time statement:

"...the facts... speak clearly only when they are told in proper order and perspective—and thus interpreted by an honest Journalist."

who co-founded Time magazine in 1923 with Henry R. Luce, says of his experience on the magazine that Time regards as ideal that:

"Writers should not witness the events they write about."

It is the writer away from

the news rating the story
as and for it during the
time . . . it is to be fear-
ed that the effect it will have
will be tragic. When it comes
to America's security and foreign
policy . . . it will be
seen . . . it is related to the
situation . . . it is a major
problem . . . it is a major

Center . . . such words from its
cover story on Acheson on
Jan. 1, 1953, reveal . . .

"This week . . . he ex-
panded his gloomy note . . .
With a nod of the head Dean
Cyrus Eaton Acheson ranged
from the position that he
was to follow the lead of a
well-organized army of 'knights
of joustery' or an abysmally
poor foreign policy, or an
opportunist or a youngster who
was taking the U.S. into a
world war, to the warm if
not so audible defense that
he was a great secretary of
state, a brilliant executor of
the best of all possible foreign
programs . . . till, dimly
and unrefined . . . either route
to work in a department
limbo, or walked with
little Justice Felix Frank-
furter . . . In his office in
the State Dept. . . Foggy Bottom he
tried not to listen to the
criticism . . . with his blue,
slightly protuberant eyes
and his foreign policy. It
was not a very encouraging
study . . . to what extent was
Acheson to blame . . . Acheson's
involvement . . . Acheson
therefore inherited some
of the policies and problems
which he had helped create
. . . was well on the way to
becoming an immeasurable
problem . . .

decisions and disastrous
pauses that have inter-
fered to plague him . . . The
crisis . . . was to provide
Acheson's State Department
with an alibi for its some in-

China's tragic disaster
State Department, by its acts
and by its failures to act . . .
had bribed . . . thrown Chiang's
door open to Russia . . .
Acheson's State Department
continued hopefully to strike
the fur of the Red leader . . .
most not the survivor among
the architects of the 'China
mistake' is Secretary Acheson . . .
The case against Dean
Acheson . . . policy has dis-
astrously failed in Asia. The
misreading of the Red Chi-
nese . . . he must take full
responsibility . . . the anti-
communism against Chiang Kai-
shek . . . On the record, U.S.
policy in Europe is in a cri-
tical state of hesitation . . .
Acheson and the Administra-
tion . . . could not get around
the fact of Western Europe's
Red revolution . . .
Acheson had been invariably
punctilious and polite . . . in
the end . . . he had too fre-
quently let himself be pulled
down to the level of his hem-
hawing, tiptoeing fellow con-
ferees . . . The question was
whether a different secretary
of state might have done more . . .
He possesses some of
the intellectual arrogance . . .
a highly civilized man, an
intellectual snob . . . No blood,
no sweat, no tears ever
. . . the drift . . . of
Acheson's sentences, or the
mannerisms of his theories
. . . the U.S. people . . . can-
not quite tune in on him . . .
Has Dean Acheson become
a national danger? . . .

Under An Avalanche-The Facts

In its Jan. 3, 1953 issue
Time did a cover story on
Secretary of State John Foster
Dulles. Like Acheson, Dulles had become a matter
of bitter dispute in the
United States. The tone words
and phrases from that story:
". . . John Foster Dulles
looked seriously at the man
. . . pressed Molotov with
greater skill and force than
any U.S. diplomat had ever
shown . . . one sharp stroke
after another . . . Dulles re-
cued other millions from
gullibility . . . trips to re-

inforce the free world out-
posts . . . develop cohesion
and strength . . . Dulles
played the key role . . .
Dulles' patient year of work
and travel . . . Dulles both
drew upon and nourished U.S.
confidence . . . this emphasis
on U.S. interests had a whi-
some effect of revitalizing the
national pride of other
Western nations . . . he
played the year's most effec-
tive role . . . he was nimble
in discreetly helping himself from
his errors . . . after long and
careful negotiation . . . Dulles

. . . played goalkeeper in the
free world's two major set-
backs . . . Dulles has said
quite pointedly . . . A smaller
man than Dulles might have
insisted . . . had a brilliant
career . . . applied Christian
principles to historic reali-
ties . . . soundest bit of diplo-
macy . . . He has explained
. . . he has demonstrated . . .
Dulles' restraint was deliber-
ate . . . his nifty practical
analysis . . . Dulles analyzed
. . . was all the more forceful
because Dulles' line had
already been proved right.

and the rest of the story. In the beginning, in the first few paragraphs, there was a clear statement of the basic facts. Then the story turned to the "other side," and the reader could extract the basic facts if he worked at it. But the basic facts could conceiv-

ably come in a form as it does the Time reader, a citizen who votes no good.

Now, though it took 17 lines to do it, the first "Acheson" presented more the "opinion" of the *New York Times*. It was 477 lines of "padding," and the "news" consisted of two lines, 22 words immediately afterward, to say, "The idea had not been his, it had originated in a resolution presented by Senator Arthur Vandenberg, approved by a Republican Senator."

Again, when it mentioned his "new attitude" on policy, it followed by saying that it "faded out."

In the case of Dulles, some 96 per cent is devoted to opinions and positive notifications. Curiously, it made some downerish statements—but these consisted of 14 lines inserted after the first 430 lines followed by 210 lines of more positive than 10 per cent criticism, and a final conclusion of high approval. The two small negative insertions might strike a reader as somewhat incongruous.

the free world came to a year's end with a net loss and a troubled outlook in Asia." And "After two years in office, the Eisenhower Adminstration has failed to plug the yawning gap in its foreign policy."

Turned out as this unpleasant fact comically. In the case of a man it condemned, Acheson, it buried 62 lines of his considerable achievements in an avalanche—477 lines—of emotionally loaded words that started the image. In the case of a man it approved of, Dulles, it buried 26 lines of grave and factual criticism in an avalanche, 617 lines, of words that glowed with heroic praise.

Underneath it all, the reader could extract the basic facts if he worked at it. But the basic facts could conceiv-

ably come in a form as it does the Time reader, a citizen who votes no good.

If, on the other hand, one grants that Time has a right to it, one may wonder how the opinions hold up.

In the Dulles profile, Time's opinion was:

"Regionally, 1955's greatest area of success for America's diplomacy and the main reason it was the Middle East. There, a number of old problems were solved by new approaches . . . the status of the Suez Canal area was settled more firmly than ever before . . . the settlement was skillfully mediated by the U.S. State Department."

According to some observers, Suez resulted in one of the gravest disasters for the West and for American diplomacy in this decade, and Hungary brought a disillusionment with America's "liberation" policy. Yet during this period, Time, on Dec. 13, 1956, told the reader that things were never better for the United States abroad:

"The world's gaze and the world's hopes were directed toward Washington as rarely before . . . In the face of an imminent threat of World War III, President Eisenhower had cast U.S. policy in a role to reflect the U.S.'s basic character . . ."

Walter Lippmann that same week said ". . . the initiative and the power are not in our hands, and we found ourselves doing what we did not want to do . . ."

James Reston, chief of The New York Times Washington bureau, said that the general feeling in Washington was that "the Soviet Union and Egypt have scored a tremendous victory."

Obviously, Time disagreed with both them; the said Reston "reported nonsensically."

Later, Editor-in-Chief Henry R. Luce of Time wrote to Reston apologizing. Mr. Luce wrote that Reston was not nonsensical, he was only wrong.

- 2 -

"Big Jim" Johnson's "Aldie's Pitch"

27. The central government
is the only one that can
make laws for the whole
country.

Put on the second action
of the first, and so on
successively, till you
have got all the actions
at once.

the *sur et Time* villains "cry;"
the *Turges* "wretched state."

There are other words the
first of Time leaves The
modern Republican President
of the United States when ir-
ritated. The word "snarl" or an
equivalent "snap" means that the
question has been in bad
temper, stupid, and the Pres-
ident is showing manly spirit.
"Sputter" or "spit" means
Democratic President "snarls"
or "sputters" or "spouts."

The outstanding characteristic of the pictorial reporting of Time magazine is that without telling the reader why, the magazine surrounds personalities with an emotional aura, sometimes with such dramatics as to verbs sometimes with figures

Secondly, the result is to distort grammar, etymology and otherwise language in the news profession. But politically it is a vapor of bias that seeps into the text, obscuring facts and bypassing the normal critical judgment of the reader. It is a highly artistic technique, but a study of Time's behavior in recent political campaigns shows that it is used as a partisan political weapon.

A study of the magazine during the 1952 and 1956 Presidential campaigns leaves the impression that Time magazine was the most effective propaganda printed for the benefit of the Republican Party.

The book is coloured in the
language of speech, in the selec-
tion of facts, and in the use
of pictures and illustration.

But the right answer is the
absolute best... I have to be
willing to acknowledge the
truth.

It is up to the author to keep
the reader informed of his
researches and findings.
But if these directions fail
into a clear parallel pattern,
the reader has a right to
know it.

In the Sept 1 1452 issue,
under 'F. F. P. L. C. A. N. S.' The
rediscovery—a story about
Dwight, Fiventhwer—leaving
out the news core—but in

"A great American soldier disclosed yesterday at Versailles . . . recovered courage as a policy for a nation. Out of his own wide experience with the fateful issues of the 20th century, T. S. A. D. W. M. Hower phrased a definition of the peril besetting the U.S. . . . a definition so compelling . . . it survived . . . his credentials as a candidate for President . . . a good speech, in both the moral and political sense . . . Ike calculated with grim arithmetic: "There is the kind of history I analysis . . . which the U.S. seldom hears from its officials . . ."

In the same issue, under "DEMOCRACY," away from It All," a story about Adia Stevenson—leaving out the news core—began:

"Captain" Adel Steven-
son clambered into his state-
owned two-engined Beech-
craft last week and flew off
to the Wisconsin woods . . .
hours leafing — a little half-
hearted casting. . . . Evenings
he lolled in the bearskin-
draped living room before a
fieldstone fireplace big enough
to take 7-foot logs, which
were hauled automatically
from the basement at the
touch of a button . . . he did
little work . . .

On Oct 10, 1956, Time reported the appearance of both Stevenson and Eisenhower at a Farmer's gathering.

"From the same giant platform . . . Adlai Stevenson made a major bid for the farm vote at Newton . . . Stevenson promised the farmers everything but the moon on behalf of the Democrats . . . From the past, Stevenson dragged out a familiar Democratic tactic . . . countered Adlai, in an astonishing de-

The title of the Eisenhower story was: "Ike's Promise."

The title of the Stevenson story was: "Nell's Pitch."

This relatively subtle technique does not mean that Time neglected the blunt instrument of loaded pictures. In the 13 issues covering the 1952 campaign, Time published 21 photographs of Eisenhower, all of them showing him in a favorable light—heroic, or friendly, or earnest. Stevenson's face in those issues appeared only 13 times, the two largest facial shots from photographs taken 30 years before, and 10 per cent of the total showed Stevenson in unflattering poses eating, drinking, or grinning.

Eisenhower's picture appeared on Page One of National Affairs in Time three times, on Page Two four times during the campaign period. Stevenson's never appeared on Page One of National Affairs.

Time carefully preserved the image of Eisenhower in the 1956 campaign, although in the Democratic past it had shown marked irreverence for political sacred cows. In 1956 it dealt heavily in cartoons. In the 13 pre-

19. 1990-1991
20. 1991-1992

1965, 1966, 1967 and 1968

But this does not usually
occur in facts out of
connection with sympathetic
nerves. The presence with
sympathetic ones, insympa-
thetic ones with nucleus and
sympathetic one invagines, for

The new Republic
exists, there are 240
in all. The People's
Army describes the Fair

There is little or no evidence of participation by the public in the decision-making process. This is probably due to the lack of information available to the public.

Steereola "burned" or, as Tim said Oct. 4, 1921, "A full Steereola went whirling across the U.S. across the last week, spotting sparks and smoke."

1930. In: *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 23, 1930.

Deutsche Schule
Lübeck 1921

"And there was former President Herbert Hoover . . .
He . . . is a simple, cautious soul . . . Tame and
whitewashed hair . . . and
sottered the lines of his face .
For 20 years he had uttered
no complaint and da fe of
criticism on him . . . few men
. . . have ever suffered
But this was his night among
the dead."

Describing the visiting dignitaries at the 1932 Democratic convention:

wards . . . a woman with an eye on the vice presidency . . . tramped to the speaker's stand splendidly corseted . . . forced us to see her . . .

Roosevelt, whose new frizzy hair's made her look like a

One can't not be unkind to
Mr. Fenton, for example.

about Mrs. Roosevelt to note that Time had whitened Herbert Hoover's hair, but only made Mrs. Roosevelt's look like a gothwoz.

The difference in the descriptions of these two persons in Time is unimportant. What is important is that the corset-golling content of Democratic stories was always high during the campaigns and practically absent in Republican stories; and the "softened with dignity" current was high in Republican stories absent in Democratic.

Time, one suspects, by political binocular glasses, that its editors look downward at the ranks of Democrats and upward at The Higher Things in Life among the Republicans.

Not need can be pro-Democratic or anti-Republican to question the ethics of such political reporting in a publication that tells the reader he is getting news in "Times, The Weekly Newsmagazine."

Friends Have Souls, Enemies Messy Details

Time pictures its political
elites as boasting its
friends by another technique.
It facts are damaging to
friends, it mentions the facts
briefly and then rebuts them
at length or dismisses them
with editorial contempt. If
they are damaging to ene-
mies Time dwells on them at
length, may even use its
entire reportage on them and
use them as proved con-

Witness, for example, the
1964 Civil Rights convention
compromised the civil rights
issue. Time reported:²

one of the convention's youngest and prettiest delegates was a central figure in a struggle over civil rights. Mrs. Mildred Younger, a 31-year-old Los Angeles housewife, presided over the civil rights subcommittee with an intelligent, calm bearing. The subcommittee was bitterly divided. As a result, it came out with a plan that could constrain as it wished.

A short time later the
Democrats did the same
thing:

such divergent views on civil rights as Russell and Harriman was a real triumph in fence-straddling for Stevenson."

Pretty Mrs. Younger presided with an intelligent hand; Stevenson fence-straddled.

Often during the campaign, Time did not trust the Republicans to make their own arguments, but it provided the reader with its own. When television viewers saw that the Republican delegates at the convention paid no attention whatever to the sit-

... it had been agreed that the two sides would meet again at the end of the week to discuss further the question of the trial. They now say that the discussions

Another technique is to bring up the past, and to do more than just bring up the past but to bring up the pasts of both sides. This is an attempt to discredit democratic, non-socialist, non-radicalism.

The last of yesterday, who had just been nominated for Vice President of the United States, was given a speech at the end of his speech and followed it with a speech by the Southern Doctor. There, commented one of the speakers, "He is a man who has every quality a Democrat could like for Vice President, he's from the South." This comment contained considerable truth . . . Sparkman, in fact, is so resolute a compromiser that it takes a special reminder to tell him what to do . . .

But apparently Time had no unsympathetic observers at the Republican convention: "The meeting quickly settled on the choice of Dr. Nixon as its presidential candidate. No one was surprised. Nixon was a logical choice . . ." Its treatment of Stevenson during the campaign was minimal and reflected many criticisms made by others. Its treatment of Nixon did not reflect Nixon had been bitterly criticized by many Americans.

" . . . the most up-to-date attraction at the U.S. State Fair last week was a good-looking dark-haired young man with a manner both aggressive and modest, and a personality to delight any

potential voter. He accepted his nomination at the D.C. convention in an effort to build a good war record, deep sincerity, and religious faith . . . He was Richard Milhous Nixon . . .

At the same time, Republican nominees for Vice Presidents

had to make up their minds about Nixon at face value, and where the Republicans had to do this, Time's coverage of them, if the Republicans said anything at all, was Time's explanation of it . . . Yet what Democrats said usually was looked at critically, or cynically, and then forgotten. During the 1956 campaign, for example,

"One day last week Stevenson . . . was disturbed, he said, that the convention might be trying to load Eisenhower upon a 'docile, complacent, cautious' people all happily chanting 'Peace, Progress . . . ain't it wonderful' . . . Candidate Stevenson obviously felt he had a point . . ." Time then went on to expand on its own . . . in a short Democratic campaign notice — "The U.S. has learned to live with its crises with equanimity . . . if there seems to be little interest in the news of the year to date, it is not because the search is constant and the U.S. is always 'new'."

Time regularly in the campaign drafted from Republican statements into Eisenhower prose affirming those statements. And it regularly devoted part of the space under its heading 'DEMOCRATS' to Repudiation (or its own) attacks on Democrats.

In a cover story on Vice-Presidential candidate Kefauver it started with a reference to Kefauver pitching manure and thereafter put

the word "shovel" and "pitch" in the text denoting his speeches. Aside from this, directly derogatory material constituted 30 per cent of the story, even though editorial agreement. The editor of the *New York Times* was an earnest, unbroken critic of Eisenhower, allowing just enthusiasm to cover his inner doubt . . . while he is a partisan to his friends, Nixon is a man of consistent principle, whose values are as sound and fundamental as any in U.S. politics today . . . Had Nixon been the weak, unprincipled character that his more choicer enemies make him out to be, he might well have given up . . ."

In an October, 1952, profile of Stevenson, 35 per cent was devoted to derogatory or otherwise damaging, much of that 35 per cent being used to counter or nullify positive material. The Eisenhower cover story had only three per cent derogatory lines and with these Time took the initiative to answer:

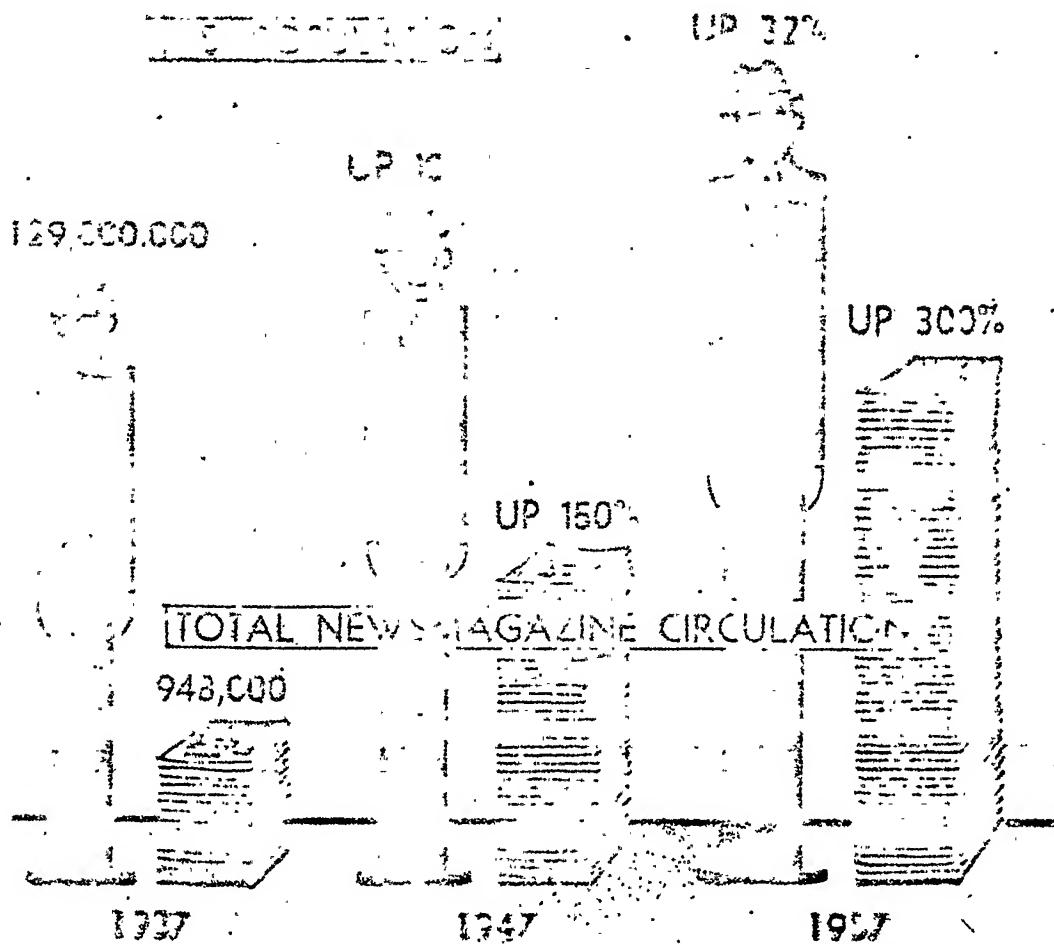
"One of the Democratic charges against Eisenhower is that he is vague on issues. Actually, while Ike's prose is vague in style, his speeches are highly specific in content . . ."

Time's treatment of domestic politics is dramatic political polemics and it is certainly identifiable as free political opinion, but it is not reliable political reporting by any non-partisan standard.

An analysis of its behavior during the 1952 and 1956 political campaigns casts serious doubts on its own early prospectus:

"There will be no editorial page in Time.

"No article will be written to prove any special case."



No. 12

Newspapermen's Service and a Taxcut

The newspapermen—Time, Newsweek, Life, Look & World Report—constitute one of the most popular phenomena in American journalism. They are one of the most encouraging in American mass communication.

The spectacular growth of the magazines undoubtedly reflects a greater public interest in world affairs and an increasing desire to understand them.

Interest in the magazines has been shown to ever since

the depression in 1933. The Newsweek Poll Report for two years, 1940 and 1945,

has shown that just

circulation was 67,000. Now nearly 1,000,000 News-Week had 275,000. Last year the American population had increased 10 per cent and yet the combined newsmagazine circulation had gone up more than 300 per cent.

All news media became more popular during this time, including newspapers, for a number of reasons. The Great Depression and the Second World War brought close to the life of the average man, and World War II at the outset was a threat of World War I. During this same period, income rose steadily and income increased steadily.

news magazines were sold for every 1,000 Americans in 1937, 25 were sold in 1957. This three-fold increase in the per capita reading of news interpretation should encourage anyone anxious for a democratic people to keep informed and maintain understanding of what is happening in the world.

But at the same time, the magazines have presented national and world events as news by new, good techniques ranging from dramatic oversimplification to full-fledged partisan propaganda.

Each of the three magazines has had its particular interests in the news and has tended to fit the presentation of the facts to its interests.

and now has been permitted
and, like the rest of us, it
wants to know what has
been done.

It is not the fault of the
newspaper that it has
not told the people what
has been done. It is the
fault of the people that
they have not asked
what has been done. They
have not asked because
they have not been interested
in politics. All they are really
interested in is their newspaper.

The representatives have to
be interested in what they
represent. When their
representative's interest is
lost, he loses it. It takes inde-
pendence, courage, and honesty
to stand up to another in political
matters. Newspeople are not
interested in politics. And the technique
of politics is not interesting. And
so, they are not interested in
writing large quantities of

primary documents in public
affairs means that opposing
parties can see the light of
day even though overhal-
fous of mutual agreement
will be reached.

The newsmagazines are
at fault. American journalists
in all the ways. In the
stated opinions and editorials
they are not objective.
In the news stories they
are not objective. In
the columns they are
not objective. In the
opinions of the columnists.

The old news has no
operating traditions of newspapers
that call for strict
separation of fact and opinion. This tradition has been
strong and inviolate during
the last generation. It holds that news will be presented
without comment by
the reporter or the editor,
and without a pointed shout.
When this is done, it is
expressed it should be on the
front page in large
columns whose authors can

be judged by merit and reputa-
tion.

Certainly, this tradition is
not upheld all the time on
all papers. Some biased
stories are printed in all
newspapers from time to
time because reporters and
editors are human and vary
in their competence and dis-
cretion. And a few newsmag-
azines carelessly have
biased news stories their
proprietors reject the tradition.

But in the main, American
newspapers have produced an
audience used to generally ob-
jective stories in politics and
social affairs. This is aug-
mented by the heavy use of
the relatively impartial wire
services — Associated Press,
United Press International,
and Reuters. The rule of ob-
jectivity is followed so rigidly
on serious newspapers
that many serious students of
politics consider it as think
the newspapers overdo it.

Problems of Today's Newsmagazine Technique

The problem of the Amer-
ican newsmagazine is that it
is not a journalistic
journal story or a journalistic
documentary one to an audience
who are not used to having
such a journalistic document
of the present form. It is com-
plicated by the fact that the
new magazines go largely to
the middle classes who
probably do not have a high
interest in literary analysis
and political sophistication.

This is a social institu-
tion in England. But the
websites in England are pre-
sented as analysis, not
straight news, they cover the
entire political spectrum from
left to right, they go
largely to the highly educated
reader who is in the habit
of reading what they are
on the web, written as
rational analysis.

The basis of the American
newsmagazines is not stated.
They say they are news.
They say the basis of their
magazines is to have a point of

view and tells the reader
what The Truth is, but he
is not told what the view
is. The Weekly Newsmag-
azine." And the point of view
is generally not presented in
rational and this is by the
emotional reaction of per-
sonalities and events in a
subtle, indirect manner to an
audience traditionally un-
prepared for such manipulation.

It may be encouraging to
see that the newsmagazine
closest to the journalistic
tradition of objectivity, U.S.
News & World Report, has
been growing the fastest in
recent years. Its predecessor,
United States News had 10
per cent of the Big Three
circulation in 1947 but had
22 per cent in 1957. And
Time, which is the most load-
ed of all, had 70 per cent of
the circulation 20 years ago
and only 51 per cent last
year.

But the total combined cir-
culation has risen so fast
that it still means a absolute

gains of a large magnitude
for all the magazines. The
magazines, in 1920
circulation 20 years ago, have
4,200,000 now. The numbers
who read each issue are
greater still. The magazines
have multiple attractions for
the whole family, they are
printed on attractive, durable
paper, and they are engagingly
illustrated.

Some of the peculiarities
of the newsmagazines have
only passing importance, the
compulsion to prophesy in
U.S. News & World Report
and in Newsweek, for ex-
ample, builds up the illusion
of an overly simple world to
which each magazine has the
only keyhole. Time avoids
formal forecasting of events,
probably because its conser-
vative inheritance includes the
old Literary Digest. Time
bought the Digest after the
Digest had destroyed its repu-
tation in 1929 with a widely
publicized "scientific" prediction
that Alfred Lan-
don would beat Franklin

Journal-Bulletin, April 22, 1968, p. 12, and the "Two Americas" article in the May issue, were considered relatively uninteresting by workers.

It is interesting to note that the magazine's are more likely to report on topics which have arisen from the public than to report on topics which have been generated by the press and the public, in which the former has had less influence.

In many respects this indicates a general public interest in advertising techniques of depth probing and perceptual motivation. By means of these methods in the presentation of news stories it is now recognized that by creating a general sense of middle-class voters that are extremely sensitive to conventional bias in newspaper-stories but almost totally insensitive to the new techniques in newsmagazines.

But workers during the period 1965-1968 presented in *Newsweek*, *Time*, *U.S. News & World Report* and *Life*, probably was read by most of its subscribers as a source of news on the major conflicts. Most of the atmosphere had grown in the trend of a separation of news and opinion in their daily coverage. Few of them had any analytical expertise with the literary presentation of news. But were the readers of *Newsweek* during these crucial months well-carried along by an extensive series of articles of artistic nature which manipulated emotions under the implication that it was providing "news."

The retelling of the news at the end of the week and its interpretation from a particular point of view both are legitimate and useful.

But there would appear to be a need for public recognition that in the area of

national politics and international relations and in world affairs special issues such as *Life*, *Asia*, *policy* and *U.S. News & World Report* on interpretation they are confronted not with simple news or national interpretation but with magazines of opinion.

The major problems would seem to be that the commercial bias of all the newsmagazines is on the very general side of American politics, and that they pass on this bias in a general and tenacious manner which the average reader has had no previous experience and against which he has little defense.

Consequently the newsmagazines constitute both a problem in the development of American politics and in the dissemination of news and interpretation of world events.

Award Given To Newsmen

NEW YORK, April 19 (AP).—Newspapermen in Providence, R. I., and Washington, D. C., yesterday won \$500 awards each from the Sidney Hillman Foundation for their reporting on labor matters.

They are Ben Bagdikian, columnist and special writer for the Providence Journal and Bulletin, and Murray Marder, reported for the Washington Post and Times Herald.

Mr. Bagdikian received his award for a series of articles analyzing Government security programs and spotlighting defects in them. Mr. Marder was honored for day-to-day articles on various aspects of civil liberties.

Others receiving \$500 awards were:

Reuben Levin, editor of Labor, weekly publication of railroad unions in Washington, for a number of articles on Federal regulatory agencies and civil liberties.

John Lord O'Brian, lawyer, for his book, "National Security and Individual Freedom," published by the Harvard University Press.

Dr. Robert Engler, professor of political science at Sarah Lawrence College, for a series of articles in the New Republic Magazine on oil and politics.

Presentation ceremonies were held in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The Hillman Foundation was created in 1947 to keep alive the late labor leader's ideas on labor-management, civil liberties and other matters.

Wash. Post and _____
 Times Herald _____
 Wash. News _____
 Wash. Star _____
 N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
 N. Y. Mirror _____
 N. Y. Daily News _____
 Daily Worker _____
 The Worker _____
 New Leader _____

*62-94714-P File 62
94717*

NOT RECORDED
117 MAY 13 1956

Date 4-19-56

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 11/23/55

cc : SAC, BOSTON (94-487)

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
MISCELLANEOUS
RESEARCH (CRIME RECORDS)

ReBulet 5/5/55 and Boslets 5/8 and 5/10/55.

There is enclosed herewith photostatic copy of article relating to above individual in connection with foreign study grant.

Enc.

RECORDED-# 62-94717-8

30
3 1955

EX-125

62-94717
34 DE 6/21/1955

NOV-25-1955

Journal-Bulletin Reporter Gets Foreign Study Grant

Ben H. Bagdikian, a Journal-Bulletin reporter since 1947, has been named by the Reid Foundation as one of six recipients of \$5,000 grants for study abroad during 1956.

Another of the grants went to Mary Packwood, 27, of The Binghamton (N.Y.) Press, who was society editor of The Providence Journal from October, 1950, to August, 1951.

The Reid Foundation, founded by the late Ogden Reid, editor of the New York Herald Tribune, makes annual study awards to newspaper men and women of proved ability in editorial work, with at least five years experience on United States dailies.

Bagdikian, who expects to go abroad next April with his wife and two sons, will study reportorial techniques in several West European capitals. He hopes to determine the adequacy of coverage given to political and other stories by the predominantly political party press of those capitals.

Bagdikian, 35, graduated from Clark University in Worcester in 1941, worked one year for the Springfield Morning Union, and then went into the Air Force, in which he served more than three years as a navigator. After his discharge, he spent a year doing magazine and free lance work in New York.

While on the Journal-Bulletin



Ben Bagdikian

staff, Bagdikian has won a special Peabody award for his series on "Pitchmen of the Press," and a Heywood Broun award for a series on Facts Forum.

The four other Reid grants went to Ralph G. Craib, 30, of The Oakland (Calif.) Tribune; Bob Eddy, 38, of The St. Paul (Minn.) Dispatch; John W. Haigh, 37, of The Yakima (Wash.) Republic, and Eleanor R. Prech, 39, of The Cleveland (Ohio) Press.

Providence, R.I., Bulletin
11-18-55

62-94717-9
ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/8/55

FROM : SAC, BOSTON

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
MISCELLANEOUS
RESEARCH (CRIME RECORDS)

ReBulet 6/6/55.

The indices of the Boston Division contain no identifiable references to the above individual.

The records of the Providence Credit Bureau, 40 Fountain Street, Providence, Rhode Island, disclose a report as of March 20, 1952 identifying BAGDIKIAN as a reporter and feature writer with the Providence Journal-Bulletin newspaper. It indicated he had entered employment about 2/15/47, having come to Providence from Monroe, Louisiana. His credit record was favorable and his character and habits were recorded as good.

Providence directories identify BEN H. BAGDIKIAN, wife ELIZABETH S. residence 312 Morris Avenue, Providence, Rhode Island. The above credit bureau records also indicated that BAGDIKIAN had been born in Turkey and had a former residence at Stoneham, Massachusetts.

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Boston, Massachusetts indicate BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN born 1/30/20 at Marash, (Cilicia) Turkey, entered the United States at New York 5/1/20, approximately 2 months old, and subsequently obtained citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, ARAM, naturalized 3/29/26. The INS file contains no additional background data other than a request by BAGDIKIAN for a derivative citizenship certificate and an indication he was associated with the Air Force during World War II. It was not possible to obtain any data with regard to ARAM BAGDIKIAN at INS, inasmuch as his file was not immediately available and because of the desire to present this matter to the Bureau by 6/9/55.

There is enclosed herewith reprint of a series of articles entitled, "What Price Security," by BEN H. BAGDIKIAN in the nature of reprints from the Providence Journal-Bulletin newspaper during March and April, 1955, individual copies of which have been previously provided the Bureau. COPY DESTROYED

150 NOV 30 1964 INDEXED - 21
No additional inquiry will be made in this matter pending further Bureau instructions.

*Enc. detached
and carried
by [unclear]*

Enc.

See serial 5

62 JUL 20 1955 REC'D 5 JUN 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : [REDACTED]

DATE: June 16, 1955

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

SYNOPSIS:

You will recall Bagdikian is author of series of articles which appeared in Washington Evening Star re loyalty program. Information developed at Bureau indicated Bagdikian reporter for Providence "Journal-Bulletin" newspaper and Boston instructed June 6, 1955, to check indices and credit records re Bagdikian. SAC, Boston under dates of June 8 and 10, 1955, advised indices that office contained no references identifiable with Bagdikian. Credit Bureau records identified Bagdikian as reporter and feature writer with Providence "Journal-Bulletin" and had been employed since February, 1947. Credit record favorable, character and habits reportedly good. Immigration and Naturalization records indicate Bagdikian born in Turkey and entered U. S. in 1920. Father identified as Aram Toros Bagdikian, a clergyman, also born in Turkey.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

ENCCL.

SEARCHED FILE

Attachment

(8)

RECORDED-35

17 JUL 6 1955

MR. J. E. REED, JR. 52 b6 b7c

44-30452

51 JUL 12 1955

Memorandum to [redacted]

June 16, 1955

BACKGROUND:

You will recall in my memorandum of June 3, 1955, you were advised of the progress made in our efforts to identify captioned individual, the author of a series of newspaper articles concerning the loyalty program which appeared in the Washington Evening Star. Information developed indicated Bagdikian was a reporter for the Providence, Rhode Island, "Journal-Bulletin." Bureau letter to Boston, June 6, 1955, instructed that office to search its indices and to make a discreet check of credit records for information concerning Bagdikian.

DETAILS:

SAC, Boston under date of June 8, 1955, advised that the indices of that office contained no identifiable references to Ben H. Bagdikian.

Records of the Providence Credit Bureau disclosed a report of March 20, 1952, identifying Bagdikian as a reporter and feature writer with the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" newspaper. The report indicated he had started employment about February 15, 1947, having come to Providence from Monroe, Louisiana. His credit record was favorable, and his character and habits recorded as good. These records also indicated that Bagdikian was born in Turkey and had a former residence at Stoneham, Massachusetts.

Immigration and Naturalization Service records at Boston indicate Ben Haig Bagdikian was born January 30, 1920, at Marash, Turkey; entered the United States at New York, June, 1920; and subsequently obtained derivative citizenship through his father, Aram, who was naturalized March 29, 1926.

The Boston Office enclosed a reprint of the series of articles concerning the loyalty program written by Bagdikian entitled "What's rice Security?" These articles appeared in the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" during March and April, 1955. This reprint is attached.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : [REDACTED]

DATE: June 3, 1955

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

This is to advise you of the progress made in our efforts to identify captioned individual who is the author of a series of newspaper articles concerning the loyalty program released by North American News-paper Alliance currently appearing in the "Washington Star."

Search of Bureau indices has been made with negative results.
Search of Bureau Library reveals reference to a Ben H. Bagdikian men-
tioned on pages 50-52 of the January 11, 1954, issue of "Time" magazine.
This individual is described as a reporter for the Providence, Rhode
Island "Journal-Bulletin" who wrote the story concerning "Facts Forum"
which is financed by [REDACTED]. Additionally, a person
by the same name is listed as the author of the article "Rhode Island's
Salty Doctor" in the June, 1953, issue of "Coronet" magazine and also the
article "What Happened to the Girl Scouts?" in the May, 1955, issue of
"Atlantic Monthly." The latter magazines are not in the Library. The
"Time" magazine is attached.

A search of the indices of the Washington Field Office revealed no identifiable information.

Indices of the New York Office were negative but a credit bureau report from New York City reflects that a credit bureau in August, 1949, received an inquiry from Providence, Rhode Island, concerning Ben H. Bagdikian whose wife's name was Elizabeth. It was noted they had a charge account with Sachs Fifth Avenue in New York City in 1946.

[REDACTED] was contacted by the New York Office and advised that Bagdikian is a reporter and since 1951, has been associated with the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" newspaper in Providence, Rhode Island. This individual is a free lance writer and does "on the spot" reporting for "Time." He was runner-up for the Heywood Broun Award for his outstanding articles on "Facts Forum" in the Providence "Journal-Bulletin." Latest information available to [REDACTED] was that Bagdikian was with the Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Providence "Journal."

The current Providence telephone directory contains the listing Ben H. Bagdikian, 312 Morris Avenue.

Enclosures (2)

cc - [REDACTED]

(6)

RECORDED - 50

811 - X3

16 JUN 10 1955

62-94717-4

Memorandum to [redacted]

June 3, 1955

It is believed advisable that we have the Boston Office check their indices and conduct a discreet check of credit records at Providence for additional background information.

RECOMMENDATION:

sent 5-6-55 That the attached letter be sent instructing the Boston Office to check their indices and records of the credit bureau for information concerning Bagdikian.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : [REDACTED]

DATE: 6/9/55

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
62-94717

Bagdikian has written a series of 6 articles captioned "What Price Security" which appeared in the Washington Star May 29 through June 3, 1955. In order that a complete set may be placed in his file, the attached clippings are being designated to go into his file as an enclosure to this memorandum.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For record purposes only.

(3) Enclosures (6) ENCL.

RECORDED - 54

INDEXED - 54

JUN 10 1955

53 JUN 16 1955

WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

One in 10 U.S. Adults Faces Loyalty Checks

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

On the morning of August 18, 1947, the first of 2 million Government employes began lining up to have their fingerprints taken. Thus began the loyalty-security program to protect the Federal Government from infiltration by hostile agents and unreliable citizens.

Since that day the system has never stopped growing.

Today, the 2 million have grown to more than 10 million. One in every 10 American adults must now be investigated for his loyalty, ideas, associations, relatives and personal habits in order to keep his job. And if a bill now in Congress becomes law the number could be more than tripled.

This has been a new and sometimes wild experience for Americans. It was designed originally to eliminate Federal employes whose first allegiance might be to a foreign power. But it quickly became the focal point for some of the most bitter political combat in American history.

Yet the program has had some positive results.

It has eliminated some persons of questionable loyalty from government and defense plants. It has made it more difficult for known subversives to get in. It has rallied the arrogant plans of domestic Communists. And by precipitating decisions on national loyalty it has cost the Com-

First of a series of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

munist Party membership and support.

It has also established a system for protecting secrets. And it has stimulated some prudence in spreading defense information.

But the Nation plunged into this new experience with scarcely a look at where it was going. Consequently, what protection loyalty-security programs have provided has come at unnecessarily high and sometimes disastrous cost. In places it has done profound damage to the very agencies it was supposed to protect.

Warnings have been given by men notably careful of their words. Dr. Vannevar Bush, who headed the country's wartime scientific effort, last year told a congressional committee that defense lagged a "year or two behind" because of security measures. Dr. James R. Killian, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has said that present security procedures may be among the "most hazardous" threats to our military defense.

So far, such warnings have been largely ignored. A new thing in the United States, the security program continues to grow without study. Unlike normal protection against espionage and sabotage provided by agencies

Continued on Page A-5, Column 1.

*file
4-118*

Wash. Post and
Times Herald

Wash. News

Wash. Star

A-1
N. Y. Herald Tribune

N. Y. Mirror

Date: 11/17/51 2-1 13

62-94717-3
ENCLOSURE

Loyalty Setup Mushrooms To Cover One in 10 Adults

Continued From First Page
like the FBI and police, it does not detect illegal acts or plans for illegal acts. It screens all persons beforehand in an attempt to eliminate anyone who might under some circumstances commit such acts in the future. Five major categories of persons come under the program:

1. The 3 million members of the armed services.
2. The 130,000 employes of the Atomic Energy Commission and its contractors.
3. The 500,000 men at dockside under the port security program.
4. The 2.3 million employes of the Federal Government.
5. Between 3 million and 5 million workers in defense plants.

But since President Truman inaugurated the Government program in 1947, loyalty-security tests have steadily overflowed into non-Government life. The entertainment business, for example, has an unofficial, unannounced and usually denied system for "clearing" public personalities and workers on security grounds. The professions, notably teaching, have adopted security tests beyond basic allegiance. Even the manual trades have entered the field.

In Indiana, a boxer must take an anti-Communist oath before he can climb into the ring.

On a local government level, some 500,000 employes of 14 States must be screened for loyalty-security as must thousands of municipal workers.

This has brought into existence a small army of security police—investigators and administrators.

Other Units Get in Act

The FBI and Civil Service Commission do most of the investigating of Federal employes. But eight other Federal agencies also do security investigations. To cover defense plants, the armed services, for example, maintain 164 regional offices with thousands of investigators watching 20,000 plants. But these clear only the 600,000 defense workers with top classification (secret and top secret). The more than 3 million defense workers with lowest clearance (confidential) are investigated by individual companies. This work is done by private detectives.

The range of knowledge, skill and wisdom among security officers and investigators is enormous. It runs from a minority of responsible and sophisticated agents among the more carefully selected and trained men, to performances that can only be described as ignorant.

As more and more persons have been added to those who must pass loyalty-security screening to hold their jobs, the number of grounds for excluding them has increased.

In 1941 the FBI was given funds to investigate suspected subversives among applicants for government work, with warnings not to question personal beliefs. In 1942 the Civil Service Commission began screening out persons already in government employ. In 1946 government workers were made subject to bring

not only known acts of disloyalty but for a "reasonable suspicion."

Expansion in '51 and '53

In 1947, after startling revelations of successful Russian espionage, President Truman adopted the first extraordinary government-wide program to eliminate subversives. In 1951 this was tightened to include those whose loyalty was doubted, a significant shift from suspicion of activity to a suspicion of personal belief.

In May, 1953, President Eisenhower greatly expanded the grounds for firing. As before, a man could be fired for loyalty reasons—Communist Party membership, subversion, espionage, or association with those doing it. But now he could be fired for security reasons—if, though loyal, he had relatives who might bring pressure on him, or if he had personal traits thought to make him insecure.

During this period, the "trigger" for full investigations of personal lives has been made more sensitive. One such provocation is the national agency name check, a review of Government files in the FBI, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the military services and similar agencies. If any "derogatory information" of any kind is in such files, investigators visit the neighborhoods, schools, and places of work in the entire life of the subject. Of the 4 million Federal employes checked by national agency files during the first four years of the program, 20,000 were given full field investigations.

Files Growing

The number of files in the national agency check is growing. Contemplated is the addition of all names mentioned in a derogatory way during hearings held by Senator McCarthy, for example. Other planned additions are the files of local vigilante committees, like the Tenney Committee in California.

Another "trigger" for full field investigations is the body of congressional acts requiring all employes of certain departments to be fully checked, whether or not any derogatory information is known. In fiscal 1951-52 alone there were an estimated 100,000 full field checks done by congressional order (at a cost of more than \$200 each).

The tests applied become more stringent. One is the Attorney General's list of subversive and subversive-front organizations. When it began in 1947 it had 92 blacklisted groups. Now it has 275.

But plans for the greatest single expansion of loyalty-security investigations in American life are in Congress today. Officially, the bill is entitled the "Defense Facilities Protection Act." It applies to non-defense facilities. Although officials testified that they did not plan to use it that way, the bill would permit the executive branch to extend loyalty-security investigations to virtually every worker in private business and institutions in the United States.

Tomorrow: In competence plagues security programs.
(Released by North American Newspaper Alliance)

WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

Real Danger of Red Plot Ignored in Loyalty Tests

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

In late 1948, a radio chemist answered a Government plea that he leave his private research job and return to the stepped-up atomic energy program he had left three years before. As he planned to resume his Government job the security system said he was a security risk because his old college roommate is an open Communist.

Two full years later the chemist was finally cleared, after ap-

Second of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

peals and 24 months under an anguishing cloud. The fact was his old college roommate all that time had the highest clearance and was at work in an Atomic Energy Commission secret laboratory. The security officers had made a mistake in names.

A West Coast defense plant engineer was suspended as a security risk because he and his wife allegedly teamed to make street-corner Communist speeches in 1938. After a cumbersome appeal the engineer was able to perform the simple arithmetic omitted by security officers—in 1938 he was 15-years old, his wife 11 and they lived in different cities.

Men have been accused in security proceedings of:

Holding a degree from New York University.

Walking around their own houses without clothes.

Expressing an opinion that blood in blood banks should not be segregated by race.

Contributing to the United Jewish Appeal.

Being active in the Democratic Party.

Being "married" (while a life-time bachelor) to a "Communist" wife."

It would be folly to expect no mistakes in a system that processes information on the lives of 10 million persons. But incompetence and waste have plagued the loyalty-security system from the start.

There are several reasons for this. It is a new experience in American life and runs counter to the tradition of privacy, free expression and wide association. But the compromise of this tradition, made to meet threats of infiltration, was seized by exploiters who used the program to serve their own ends. For one thing, they used it to prevent healthy, normal criticism, leaving loyalty-security programs perhaps the most vast government undertaking without such criticism.

And, in the exploitation, international Communist agents have almost been forgotten in the rush to use "anti-communism" as a

See SECURITY, Page A-5

file
etc

62-94717-3

ENCLOSURE

Wash. Post and
Times Herald

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N. Y. Herald Tribune

N. Y. Mirror

A-1

Date: 11/3/53

SECURITY

Continued From First Page
weapon against domestic political opponents. As far back as 1941, for example, Representative Martin Dies insisted that FBI investigations of subversives include nudists and technocrats.

Thus, by 1947 when the first special program began, the terms "Communist" and "anti-Communist" had been used wildly against non-Communists for more than a decade, robbing the terms of much of their specific meaning. This helped obscure the real dangers of the International Communist conspiracy—which most of the exploiters consistently ignored.

One result has been that those governed by loyalty-security programs have expressed doubt as to its fairness and sincerity. In 1952 a team of university sociologists polled employees in a dozen Government agencies on what they thought was the objective of the security program. The answers fell into three main categories: (1) to eliminate would-be spies; (2) to counteract liberal tendencies in Government; and (3) to promote partisan politics. They were asked who was most likely to get into security troubles. The answer: Those interested in social problems.

This is not necessarily how the system works, but how those governed by it think it works. It is of the utmost significance that these Government employees believe that the security system has ulterior motives.

Political exploitation has done much to destroy faith in the motives of security investigations, but so has the poor quality of investigators and officers.

Perhaps the largest body of competent investigators is the FBI, which conducts checks where loyalty is concerned. Eight other agencies also do security work. The Civil Service Commission does most of it, working with cases where personal reliability (security) are involved. The Army, Navy, Air Force, and Department of Treasury, Justice, State, Post Office, and Agriculture all use their own detectives for their own security checks using their own standards. All use agents who would not be acceptable to the FBI.

But perhaps the greatest errors are committed by private detectives working in defense plant cases, hired by individual industries who have to clear workers with access to confidential material. Many plants have turned to such reputable firms as Dun & Bradstreet. Although such agencies are notably competent to establish a man's credit, loyalty and security are different matters.

The "correctness" of personal beliefs, the significance of social and political ideas, and the meaning of professional associations are not subjects in which private detectives and attor-

neys enjoy superior knowledge. Such agents frequently make reports—resulting in defense job rings—which would be dismissed by the FBI as inadequate or meaningless. Many detectives at work on security are even less qualified, work for agencies without the good name of national credit groups.

Investigators Investigate

In fact, the security of investigators themselves has been questioned. Representative Francis E. Walter, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, has said that military officers and FBI agents have lifted official secret files to take with them to political jobs. When the Atomic Energy Commission and Department of Defense were asked if any security officers had ever been suspended or dismissed as security risks, they declined to answer.

Of course, the agent's report is not the last word. Theoretically, it presents only facts. These are reviewed by a security officer and department head. The decisions of these men, in turn, are usually subject to appeal to a board. There is ample evidence that the best security investigators and officers are as subject to error and prejudices as any other human beings. Yet, failures to accept their findings at face value has often brought the charge of "softness on communism." Worse, the frustrated officers have bypassed the system and slipped their unevaluated information to congressional friends who used it for political attacks.

As a result, the typical Washington department head has come to fear espionage less and dirty politics more. It has become common to drop a man as a security risk not because he constitutes a danger to the Nation but because congressional figures could use information in the case to embarrass the department.

Powerful political figures have used the myriad fragments of security data to imply that massive disloyalty exists throughout the Government. How justified is this picture?

4 Million Checked

In the first four years of the security program, some 4 million men and women were checked and 378 dismissed after appeals. Another 6,000 resigned without appealing, some no doubt because of damaging backgrounds but others because appeals are anguish and expensive. This record was called "softness on communism."

During the expanded Eisenhower program—with many of the avenues of appeal eliminated—some 8,003 persons have been dropped as "security risks." Of these, 2,096 left while there was "derogatory information" in their files relating to loyalty; 655 for sex perversion; 2,648 for felonies and misdemeanors; and the majority, 4,417, for allegations of undesirable personal traits such as gambling, sexual promiscuity, etc.

Thus, three out of four left for reasons entirely unconnected with disloyalty. The remaining 25 per cent were never submitted to higher adjudication which in the past had restored seven-eighths of such cases to their jobs.

Using its vastly more stringent standards for secret clearance, the Atomic Energy Commission since 1947 has investigated over 500,000 employes for Q-clearance. Of these, one-tenth of 1 per cent were denied clearance and less than 1 per cent resigned before a decision.

The campaign to portray America as honeycombed with traitors is plainly contrary to fact. It not only is false, but it hampers programs to detect real acts of disloyalty. J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, has said, "Hysteria, witch hunts and vigilantes weaken internal security."

Tomorrow: Security vs. Science
North American Newspaper Alliance

WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

Supersecrecy Slows Advance of Science

By BEN H. TAGDINKIAN

Today there is a physicist in a Government laboratory waiting to hear whether he is a "security risk" and therefore in danger of ending his professional career.

Six years ago he asked security officers whether his forthcoming marriage would affect his secret clearance. His fiance had no security problem, but her parents occasionally associated with persons thought to be pro-Communists. The physicist planned never to see his in-laws after the wedding. The security officers assured him the marriage would not jeopardize his status.

Five years later the physicist suddenly had his clearance revoked. The charge: His wife's parents are believed to associate with alleged pro-Communists. The information against him was precisely that volunteered by himself and accepted by the Government. He has appealed at a cost to himself of about \$1,000 and approximately \$10,000 to the Government. He is still waiting for a decision.

Last year an aeronautical engineer who had worked for the Government for 14 years was suspended from his top secret project in Seattle, putting him out of a job and all but stopping the urgent project. The charge involved information he had given the Government in 1940, which had been investigated and cleared at least twice since then. After six months he was restored. The personal cost of the appeal to him was \$3,242.83, to the Government, six months' loss of time on an important defense project.

These are the kinds of cases that today are causing America's best young scientists to fear Government work. In 1953 a poll of science Ph.D.'s graduating from research universities showed them equally divided on where they would like to work, one-third each in Government, industry and universities. In 1954 — after the investigation of Fort Monmouth and the case of Dr.

J. Robert Oppenheimer — a poll of Ph.D.'s showed that the 33 per cent who wanted to work for the Government had dropped to 8 per cent. The chief reason given: security.

In fact, about half of all the new Ph.D.'s said they would prefer a lower salary to going through the present uncertainties of security practices.

The Nation cannot afford to discourage young scientists. At a time when its requirements for trained men were rising sharply, bachelor degrees in science have been dropping. 20 per cent in 1950-51, another 25 per cent the next year.

In four years all bachelor degrees in science and engineering have dropped from 80,000 to 34,000.

During this same period, Russia has been extolling the scholar and scientist and encouraging its best brains to go into research. In a few years, Russia will be graduating 80,000 engineers a year. Last year the United States graduated 19,000. And experts say it would be fatal to underestimate the growing quality of Russian engineers.

It is figures like these which led Dr. John R. Dunning, dean of the Columbia University School of Engineering to say, "We have almost lost the battle for scientific manpower."

Similarly, the Government as a whole cannot afford to encourage public contempt of highly trained, studious men, or "eggheads." The Federal establishment would collapse without them. Twenty per cent of all Federal employees are of profes-

sional rank, most of them with graduate degrees. Another 37 per cent are of top industrial skill. But while more than half are of top-grade talent, only 1 per cent of Government workers get \$9,000 or more. The legal limit for Civil Service is \$14,500 a year. It is precisely in these badly needed skills that the Government cannot compete with private industry in attracting talent.

Secrecy Hit

Another factor in discouraging Government research is super-secrecy. It hampers not only the individual scientist, but at times the Government itself.

Recently, the Department of Defense completed a "secret" project. All that can be said of it is that it cost somewhere between \$10,000 and \$100,000 and took a number of senior scientists about a year to complete.

Unaware of the "secret" project, some non-Government scientists in a university did exactly the same work and published

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their results. The published results were seen by scientists everywhere, who criticized and used them to improve their own projects and push to new horizons. This demonstrates a number of things:

1. There is no such thing as a permanent secret of nature;
2. Any scientific discovery is a link to the future which, if kept secret, stalls the next step but does not prevent others from creating their own links; and
3. Safes, security officers and generals do not create new weapons like atomic bombs or defenses against them; only the "egg-heads" can do that.

Few scientists want abolition of secrecy in military research, but almost all make a distinction between tactical secrets (such as actual weapons designs, military plans, storage points of bombs, etc.) And secrets of nature (such as the basic information on matter which any scientist anywhere can work on).

No One Has Monopoly

The fact that no nation has a monopoly on research was demonstrated last year when fall-out ash covered a Japanese fishing vessel after a hydrogen bomb test at Bikini. The Atomic Energy Commission has not revealed scientific data on fall-out materials for fear it would tell something of materials in the bomb. But four months after Japanese scientists began their analysis of materials on the fishing vessel, they had published an open paper giving the elements involved, their proportions and the amount of radioactivity in each — more information than the AEC has published to date.

Another facet of secrecy keeps scientific facts bottled up in sealed compartments, giving each scientist only the information he needs in his own work. This is sound military doctrine on secrets, but it can be fatal to scientific progress. Some of the greatest advances have come from men who saw information they did not need in their own work, or at least thought so. The telegraph has born, for example, because a physicist, Alessandro Volta, in 1778 discovered a mistaken interpretation by Luigi Galvani of Galvani's own work. Under today's Government secret research rules, Volta would never see Galvani's data and discovery of the error would have been delayed.

Today a secret-cleared AEC scientist in Los Alamos has a laboratory problem. A friend in an Eastern university, also a secret-cleared AEC man doing AEC research thinks he has the answer but cannot question his

friend because in his own project he has no need to know details of his friend's work at Los Alamos.

Security measures, as typified in the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act, also impede scientific progress which in the past had been aided by friendly foreign scientists. Since enactment of the law about half of all foreign scientists applying have been forbidden to visit the United States. Some have contributed much to this country. Dr. Marcus Oliphant of England, for example, gave information on radar during World War II which the United States said was "probably the most important single item of reverse lend-lease." Yet, under the McCarran Act, Oliphant was not permitted to attend a non-secret conference here. Prof. E. B. Chain of England, codiscoverer of penicillin whose wartime collaboration saved hundreds of American soldiers, was not permitted to set foot on United States soil for a three-day visit.

Of the 12 men who headed the Los Alamos atom bomb project, half were foreign-born and thus of questionable clearance today. The leader, J. Robert Oppenheimer, was declared a security risk last year.

The combination of superstacy and distrust of scientists from friendly nations does not produce the strength which the United States depends on. This was only too clear in an incident during the building of the atomic submarine, the Nautilus.

At one time it was feared the sub would require extensive redesign because of "sleeping sickness," paralysis of its atomic engine by accumulation of a chemical, xenon, whenever the engine stopped. The Government desperately needed basic information on the nature of xenon. A Canadian with top clearance in his native country's atomic project was brought to this country to do open research under an AEC grant.

— Couldn't Get Clearance

Being a Canadian he could not get American clearance, a fact that did not bother anyone until it was discovered that he seemed to have discovered certain reactions and equations which might apply to the "sleeping sickness" problem. But he could not be asked to apply his

reactions to American data because he was not permitted to know the American data.

A fairly high-level conference was held in New York. An elaborate plan was devised to have the Canadian apply his reactions to some dummy figures, while concealing the true American figures. But at the last minute a nervous security officer dismissed the Canadian from the room, fearful that some secrets might be disclosed.

This left the American data secret and secure. But it also left them useless. Fortunately, the Canadian's data was recovered later and the sub did not have to be redesigned. No one knows in how many other instances we are not so lucky.

Tomorrow: The case of Dr. John Punnett Peters.

(Released by North American
Newspaper Alliance)

WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

Political Buccaneers Exploit Loyalty Setup

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Two years ago Dr. John Punnett Peters of Yale was dropped as a security risk from his part-time job as adviser on a Government panel. It was a minor event lost in the national spectacle over Internal security.

But his case may end the se-

Fourth of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

curity system as it has operated for eight years.

The Supreme Court has agreed to review the case of Dr. Peters to see if he was deprived of constitutional rights, even though it has long been agreed that no one has a constitutional right to a Government job. Dr. Peters asserts that today the term "security risk" involves more than loss of a Government job. He asserts it also includes a livelihood, a profession or a place in society.

The original design of the security system was to provide department heads enough information to decide which citizens would be suited for Government work in times of international stress. No guilt or innocence was involved, no punishment, no deliberate effect on private life. This way, the Constitution presented no barrier. But political exploiters had other ideas.

Program Exploited

Adventurers were quick to recognize that the security issue offered fame, fortune and political power. By spectacular exploitation, the original intent of the program has been changed until today the "security risk" label may cripple a man's position for a lifetime, despite the undisputed fact that the great majority of risk cases have nothing to do with loyalty.

Even in loyalty cases, no determination of legal guilt is involved. In 1949, for example, Dr. Peters was investigated and cleared. In 1951, his case was reopened, and this time he was charged with Communist Party membership, which he denied

and after a hearing, he was cleared again. In 1953, he was charged again. The appeal board did not know the identity of the accusers or even if they had made the accusations under oath. Dr. Peters again denied the charges under oath and presented witnesses, including an ex-president of Yale. The Government presented no case. In June of that year he was dismissed as a security risk.

May Kill System

If the Supreme Court decides that the Government should present a legal case, on the basis that the "security risk" label is too disastrous for a man to carry without legal safeguards, then the present security system will be ended. For this the critics of security cannot be blamed. The fault will lie with those exploiters of security whose sloppy methods, incompetent administration and harassment of innocent persons wrecked the only possibility of a fair and efficient program.

Confusion from high sources has not helped. Statistics show that the great majority of security cases involve no suspicion of disloyalty. Yet high officials have often given the public the impression that the term "security risk" involves treason. Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield referred to security risks in this manner: "Somehow I do not feel too amiably inclined toward people who make treason a preoccupation." Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, referred to security risk: "Almost all of them removed because of Communist activities or connections or perversion." Gradually the term has become a horrid label that can ruin men's lives.

The distortion of security has affected not only Government workers, but their bosses. It

has become difficult to handle security matters in a calm and sensible manner. Too often, when "security" enters the door, common sense goes out the window. This was demonstrated in the case of a Rhode Island industrial engineer:

Doomed by White Lies

The engineer went to work at Quonset Naval Air Station, outside Providence, in 1948, and soon became a key man designing a badly needed jet overhaul building. He so impressed his superiors that they urged him to apply for a Civil Service promotion, which he did.

In his application he repeated certain exaggerations he had made about his past experience. In his original application for Civil Service he had said he earned \$6,000 while at Western Electric some years past, and that as a private consultant he had supervised as many as 1,000 men. The facts were that at Western Electric he had earned \$4,500 a year, and as a private consultant he had supervised nowhere near 1,000 men. Asked why he made the exaggerations, the engineer said he had wanted the job and that such "puffing" was almost standard in Civil Service circles.

The Civil Service Commission held up the promotion, charging "fraud" on the application. It withdrew the engineer's security clearance. The engineer's superiors in the meantime told him to ignore the matter, which appeared a minor administrative routine since there was no question of the engineer's ability or his accomplishments at Quonset. While he was a "security risk" the engineer was part of a key group testifying to a Navy bureau on a proposed Navy installation he had helped design.

Dickering between Civil Service and the engineer, with the local Navy superiors on his side, went on for four years after he had gone to work at Quonset. Then the engineer was ordered fired as a security risk.

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Not a Risk

He began a long series of trips to Washington, paying travel expenses for himself and his lawyers. But no one wanted to take responsibility for lifting a "security risk" label. Finally the Secretary of the Navy convened a special board which, after an extended hearing, declared that the engineer was not a risk and that he had been more than punished for his application statements. The board affirmed his contributions to naval air defense.

For the next year, the engineer could not get a job. He wrapped bundles and delivered packages. A full year afterward he found that Quonset was answering queries from prospective employers by stating merely that the engineer had been relieved of duty because he had lost his security clearance. The base did not say the clearance was reinstated.

The engineer spent more than \$4,000 on the case, has been out of engineering work for two years. A Federal court said it could do nothing for him.

The same hypertension about security moves it into more than irrelevant individual cases. It has moved it into irrelevant fields of research, such as in the curing of disease.

Sickle cell anemia, for example, is a congenial, weakening disease with no known cure. About a million Americans are susceptible to it. The research is entirely open. No secrets are involved.

Dr. Linus Pauling of the Cali-

fornia Institute of Technology, probably knows more about the basic blood problems involved than any other man. He is a former president of the American Chemical Society and last year's Nobel Prize winner. He is "controversial." The Russians have attacked his theory of resonance (explaining how molecules are held together) as "bourgeois." In this country Senator McCarthy, Louis Budenz and others have said Dr. Pauling was part of the Communist conspiracy. Dr. Pauling has denied this under oath on several occasions, saying the accusations stem from the fact he is a pacifist and has signed every peace petition he could get his hands on.

Dr. Pauling was once refused a passport by the State Department (which relented when he received the Nobel Prize). The Voice of America once denied a French request to let Dr. Pauling be interviewed on a tape recording for interested Frenchmen.

More recently, Dr. Pauling applied to the United States Public Health Service for research grants to investigate sickle cell anemia. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare denied the grant. Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby said her department does not make grants for persons where there is "substantial information bearing on loyalty."

Such a policy, though, has often been considered a device to protect agencies from political attacks, rather than against sub-

version. In some cases scientists with political enemies who have applied for grants for medical research have been told nothing by the Government but indirectly have been informed that they would do better if they applied for their academic department and left their own names off the application.

Shortly after Dr. Pauling was refused the Government grant for research on sickle anemia, the department of chemistry at the California Institute of Technology (chairman: Dr. Pauling) applied for the same grant, using names of two associates but omitting that of Dr. Pauling. The grant was quickly made.

Later the National Science Foundation, also a Government agency but with a different opinion, quickly granted money to Dr. Pauling in his own name.

In such cases, there is every evidence that the greatest loss is not to the individual, but to the Government and the public.

Dr. Henry M. Wriston, president of Brown University, has said:

"If a scientist is henceforth to be judged not by what he does scientifically, but what he does socially, if he is barred from things which he does superbly; because of things he does not do well, we are setting curbs upon the progress of the United States for which all of us will pay a bitter, and it may be a fatal, penalty."

Tomorrow: The price our diplomacy pays.

(Released by North American)

WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

Diplomacy by Panic Muzzles Our Envoys

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

One of Hitler's major mistakes was to misjudge America's unity and warmaking potential—a mistake encouraged by his foreign service agents, who were afraid to tell their government what they saw with their own eyes. A major source of Russia's neurotic attitude toward the

Fifth of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

free world appears to be her insistence that what exists in other countries is nonexistent if it disagrees with Moscow policy.

Today some of this fatal process has begun to weaken American diplomacy.

An American Foreign Service officer admits privately that even though he is supposed to be his Government's eyes and ears near the Iron Curtain, he is afraid to gain the confidence of sources close to the Communists for fear this might be used against him in some future security proceedings.

A career officer says he will no longer recommend anything contrary to the dominant policy at home, even if what he sees indicates the opposite.

Policemen Take Over

Louis J. Halle, until last August a member of the State Department policy planning staff, has said:

"The Secretary of State has, in a few instances, at least, been given dangerous advice that he would not have been given if these pressures had not existed. . . . Security officers read the memoranda and make their own judgment. . . . By these indirect methods the policemen have gained some control over American foreign policy, a field in which they have no competence."

Political police officers in the State Department open personal secret files of top diplomats to read memoranda. It is the belief of career officers that the security officers are looking for "dangerous thoughts." True or not, the experts whose opinions are asked on serious problems, believe it to be true.

Security officers also review all policy advice sent in from foreign missions, a fact well known to men in the field. Speaking from personal experience one highly placed official said:

"It is amusing in a grim sort of way to see a good man describing a development with precision and skill and then finish with a recommendation that it is contrary to all the facts he has just reported."

No Mischief Allowed

Another common practice which has demoralized State Department personnel is the minute investigation into sex lives of men whose jobs are wanted. Few family men want their early escapades to become a matter of public debate. In this way many top diplomats have been dropped.

The sincerity of some of these investigations was under doubt. Suspicions were not allayed when the Department Security Chief, R. W. Scott McLeod told an audience, "Sometimes it is extremely difficult to replace an individual whose viewpoint does not coincide with that of the Republican Party."

Curious standards have been used in judging highly specialized work. John Carter Vincent and John Paton Davies, Jr., two of the country's top diplomatic experts on China, were dismissed after being accused of showing "poor judgment" in opinions they had been asked for on Chinese affairs. The board members who decided the judgment had been poor had no experience in Chinese affairs.

The sincerity of charges has been suspect on other grounds. Oliver Edmund Clubb, another expert on China dropped by the department, was once charged by security officers of having made a "slightly pink" report from Shanghai in 1938. The report was in the official files, which apparently, the security officers had not bothered to look

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at Mr. Clubb submitted it as evidence. It definitely disproved the charge. A similar charge against Mr. Davies also was refuted with his own report, which security officers had not looked at at first.

The obsessive pursuit of security at any cost has extended to political affairs outside of Government.

One of the major sources of information and advice used by the Government to chart the affairs inside Russia are the various Russian study centers at American Universities. From such places come the Government experts who study Russia as well as special analyses requiring scholarly resources outside the Federal establishment. The main source of information for such study centers is Russian publications. Today customs delays or destroys such publications. At Columbia's Russian Institute, for example, one-third of all its Russian material is regularly held up by customs—about 1,000 publications a month—and some of it burned. Often when it finally arrives it is too late to do any good.

The customs inspector has been made personally responsible that no "unauthorized" American see Russian propaganda, including Soviet reports on its economy, science, budget, etc. Customs translators cannot always read every new publication, sometimes burn the backlog to make room.

Post Office in Act

Now the United States Post Office has decided it will not deliver the major Russian newspapers, Pravda and Izvestia, to individuals in the United States, cutting off from individual students of Russia their major source of day-to-day news of what goes on inside the Kremlin and Soviet Union at large.

At the same time, foreign experts on Russia have trouble coming to this country to tell what they know. Within the last two years a planned international conference on Soviet affairs was canceled when it was realized that most of the foreign experts would have trouble getting visas under the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act precisely because they were experts on Russia.

Dr. George Fischer, author and analyst of Russian affairs, had planned a course on Russian history at Brandeis University. He needed a Russian book by a 19th century author, copies of which were available only in Moscow. Customs held the books up six months. The course had to be canceled.

Referring to barriers by customs and the Post Office (which have offered scholars the opportunity to get their materials by registering as Soviet agents), Mr. Fischer says, "I'll just leave the field of Russian study. And I think most other men in my position will, too."

It has even been suggested that Communist themselves can take advantage of security measures to make the Government

hurt itself. Because the program so often has seemed to act thoughtlessly, moved by partisan politics, scapegoatism, puritanism and anti-intellectualism, it has been easier to eliminate men of loyalty and skill. Two-thirds of the top experts in the two most critical fields of American diplomacy against Russia—China and Germany—have been knocked out by the use of "security."

George F. Kennan, principal architect of the cold war and America's foremost expert on the international Communist conspiracy, has said:

"As things stand today, I can see no reason why malicious people should have any particular difficulty in rendering unavailable for service to this country almost any person whom they select for this treatment. All that is necessary is to release a spate of rumors and gossip and demands for investigation."

(North American Newspaper Alliance)

WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

It Has Become a Hoax, Cruel and Dangerous

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

It is almost fashionable today to say that something is wrong with the machinery of internal security. But the basic problem is not the machine itself. It is its design, or, rather, the lack of it.

No official body has ever bothered to determine precisely what the machine is supposed to do and where it is supposed to stop.

To be sure, there is a general impression that the machine is supposed to protect tactical secrets and that it should keep foreign agents and unsuitable citizens from sensitive jobs.

But for several years panic over security has permitted the machine to wander over the national scene at the command of anyone with ambition to grab the controls, turning out results willy-nilly and threatening to become a kind of haphazard law of the land.

In the resulting confusion Government itself has been hurt, producing demoralization at precisely the time defense most depended on high morale.

But the effects have gone far beyond official agencies. Protection of secrets is a necessary but only secondary consideration in the world today. True national security must begin with a reservoir of talented, well-trained minds devoted to individual freedom. Without such a creative community only insignificant plans, mediocre machines, and obsolescent secrets will ever need protection.

Because security has become involved in party politics, there would seem much to recommend a high-level, non-partisan commission. Its members might represent competence in foreign relations, science, jurisprudence, espionage, and civil liberties, among other things. Only then could the Government make intelligent basic changes.

Last of six articles on the Government's
* loyalty-security program.

Problems continue to exist outside of official procedure. For one thing, millions have fallen under the myth of "100 per cent security."

Dangerous Myth

This myth is the basis for provisions in the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act which presupposes that America has more to gain from isolation. The myth also presupposes that the Government can guarantee perfect protection against disloyalty anywhere in the United States. The Government certainly should protect itself. But bitter experience shows that no government can buy perfect protection. Even more bitter experience shows that only a police state is designed to attempt such futile protection and that the attempt in modern times has always led to disaster.

Consequently, it has been said that the most profitable and effective internal security system is one that covers a well-defined, small area. This would seem important for philosophical reasons and practical ones, as well. There are not enough wise and knowledgeable security officers to watch everyone everywhere. The wider the coverage the more incompetence and the weaker the protection. Today the United States is drifting rapidly toward a general and diffuse security of doubtful effectiveness. The ideal of large numbers of men indicted—the policeman's dream—has tended to replace the ideal of many good men at work—the requisite for a successful modern democracy.

Improving the quality of se-

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curity officers, defining their functions more carefully, and providing once again the superior appeal boards which would settle security differences between departments—all would help resolve some practical problems. Others remain.

Perpetual jeopardy has plagued security from the start. It stems chiefly from politics, which chooses its victims beforehand, then brings charges and presses them until they stick, regardless of how many times a man has disproved them. One suggestion has been a period during which man's case cannot be reopened unless substantial new information against him is found.

Permitting a man to face his accusers would clarify many flimsy cases at once. The argument against it is that it would force the Government to reveal undercover agents who supply damning facts. This is true in some cases but probably only in a minority. Many unjustified and costly cases have been brought on the basis of unsworn testimony of persons whose unreliability or honest errors would be established at once if they were placed in the light of day. Anyone familiar with police work knows with what care a prosecutor sifts his evidence if he knows he has to produce witnesses—and the temptations if he does not.

Unevaluated Data

Use of unevaluated information might, except in rare cases, be banned. To suspend a man on the basis of an undocumented rumor can be unjust to him but also harmful to the Government work he is doing. Disciplined judgment of evidence is the best protection for both the individual and the Government.

Some measures might well be taken against public use of unproved security information. If Government investigators demand the right to collect vast quantities of information about its citizens, it would seem both common sense and common decency to take more than token steps to prevent disclosure of gossip and loose recollection.

Too Cumbersome

A general return to personal attention to individual cases, instead of formal, cumbersome bureaucracy would do much to make security more effective. It would also provide a better detection of clever subversives (almost none of whom would be stopped by the political screening of formal security).

There is no justification for complacency about the security of the United States today. Neither is there justification for abandoning values that for 179 years have demonstrated to the world that a free and confident society is stronger than the toughest police state on earth.

No loyal person would argue with the official objectives of the security program. It would be one of the tragedies of history if the United States were to fall under control of the totalitarian Communist conspiracy. But it would be one of the ironies of history if the country unwittingly backed into a similar condition in the belief it was avoiding it.

(Released by the NANA.)

SAC, Boston

June 6, 1955

Director, FBI

BEN H. FAGDIKIAN
MISCELLANEOUS
RESEARCH (CRIME RECORDS)

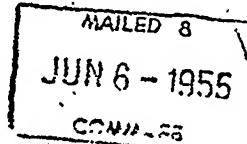
The Bureau is interested in identifying and obtaining background data concerning one Ben H. Fagdikian who is the author of a series of articles released through the North American Newspaper Alliance which are currently appearing in the Washington, D. C., "Evening Star." Information available at the Bureau indicates that a person by the same name was a reporter with the Providence, Rhode Island "Journal-Bulletin" and it is also noted that the current Providence telephone directory contains a listing for Fagdikian at 312 Morris Avenue.

You are instructed to make a search of the indices of your office and to make a discreet check of appropriate credit records for information concerning Fagdikian. The results should be submitted to the Bureau captioned as above by June 8, 1955.

Follow-up for June 10, 1955
cc -

NOTE: See [redacted] memo captioned "Ben H. Bag dated 6-3-55."

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RECEIVED REASON

JUN 6 1955
FBI
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

-7334
JUN 13 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director
FROM : 
SUBJECT: BEN BAGDIKIAN

DATE: May 19, 1951

PURPOSE:

To answer your inquiry "What do our files show on Ben Bagdikian? H."

RESULT OF SEARCH:

A search of the Bureau indices did not disclose any reference to an individual with the name of Ben Bagdikian.

ACTION:

None. Foregoing furnished for your information.

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ORIGIN

Jury Denies Libel Balm to Arrowsmith

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

A jury in U. S. District Court returned verdicts recently for the Providence Journal Company in a \$750,000 libel suit brought against it by Harold Noel Arrowsmith Jr. of Baltimore.

Mr. Arrowsmith had asked damages of \$250,000 on each of three counts. He claimed that he had been libeled by a United Press International story from Atlanta, Ga., published in the *Providence Journal* on Oct. 18, 1958. It told of the investigation of the dynamiting six days earlier of an Atlanta synagogue, said that five men had been indicted and that Mr. Arrowsmith had been questioned by the FBI and predicted the arrest of the financial backer of the bombers.

Bagdikian's Stories

Mr. Arrowsmith claimed in the two other counts that he had been libeled in articles by Ben H. Bagdikian, former *Journal-Bulletin* staff reporter, published in the *Journal* on Nov. 9,

1958, and the *Evening Bulletin* the next day. The articles were based on Mr. Bagdikian's investigations and interviews with Mr. Arrowsmith and George Lincoln Rockwell, self-styled leader of the American Nazi Party. The two men were associated in the printing and circulation from Arlington, Va., in the summer of 1958 of articles ascribed to the "National Committee to Free America from Jewish Domination."

The stories referred to Mr. Arrowsmith as a "fascist" and "anti-Semite."

The defense was based on three contentions: That all three articles were privileged as a matter of public interest and concern and were published in reliance on sources, in good faith and without malice; that the Bagdikian articles were true in substance and, in fact, and that the plaintiff had in no way been damaged.

Michael J. Ogden, who was *Journal-Bulletin* managing editor in 1958, testified that he "approved" the Bagdikian articles. Sevelon Brown, who was *Journal-Bulletin* editor in 1958, testified that the decision to publish the articles was made "jointly" by him and Mr. Ogden.

Reliance on Wire Copy

Mr. Ogden, now executive editor, and Mr. Brown, now associate editor, described how Mr. Bagdikian was assigned to interview Rockwell and how the interview with the plaintiff developed out of the Rockwell assignment. Both said they did not know Mr. Arrowsmith before that and that they held no animosity, malice, spite, ill will or bad feeling toward him when

the Bagdikian articles were published.

Mr. Ogden said the newspapers placed "great reliance" on wire service copy, such as the United Press International report from Atlanta published Oct. 18, 1958, on investigation of a synagogue bombing, which is cited in the libel complaint.

The plaintiff's lawyer undertook to delve into Mr. Bagdikian's acknowledged "Armenian background" and asked whether he "considered himself an Armenian" when he came to this country. Mr. Bagdikian replied that he was only four months old at that time and so did not "consider" himself to be anything.

Unsecretive Report On the C. I. A.

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN is a veteran Washington reporter now with The Saturday Evening Post.

WASHINGTON.

A LAPEL button being sold in Washington drug stores these days reads, "My work is so secret I don't know what I'm doing." This has been used as an accusation by some members of Congress and others who want to turn a permanent floodlight on the most glamorous citadel of secrecy in the capital, the Central Intelligence Agency.

Though the C.I.A. has been under increasing criticism for more than three years, the present Congressional agitation is considered the most serious. Some critics would like to keep the agency under constant Congressional surveillance. Others want to dismember it, to separate its three functions—collecting information, evaluating it and carrying out secret operations.

The immediate provocation is the furor in South Vietnam, where at times the President of the United States and the C.I.A. seem to be at cross-purposes. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, under the impression, which is correct, that C.I.A. men in foreign countries are supposed to do what the Ambassador tells them, almost openly challenged the C.I.A. chief in that area. The Saigon episode is the culmination of a series of C.I.A. crises in recent times, most notably the crash of the U-2 plane in Russia just before the summit conference of 1960 and

The Washington Post and _____
Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star _____
New York Herald Tribune _____
New York Journal-American _____
New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
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The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
People's World _____
Date _____

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the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. There have been resolutions to put a rein on the agency in the last 10 sessions of Congress, but this year the possibilities of success are greater than ever before.

The C.I.A. finds itself under fire at an uneasy time in its history as a secret agency. Its existence has always been known, of course, from the time it was created by Congress in 1947, and since 1950, when it assumed its present form, its three chiefs—Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, Allen Dulles and John McCone—have all been public figures. But only recently has the C.I.A. taken on the aura of a conventional Government bureau. It used to live in drab anonymity in barracklike buildings scattered around Washington's Foggy Bottom, behind the cover, "Government Printing Office." Its headquarters were so unpretentious that President Eisenhower and his chauffeur once got lost trying to find it and had to stop and telephone Allen Dulles for instructions.

GRADUALLY, the C.I.A. has risen to high visibility. Today it occupies one of the most imposing new buildings in the Washington area. Its once awesome initials have entered the language of satire: Cuban refugees in Miami say they stand for "Cuban Invasion Authority," and in 1960 the Soviet Information Bureau used the initials for a book on the C.I.A. called, "Caught in the Act."

Public knowledge about the C.I.A. is a blend of rumor, third-hand infor-

mation and a few hard facts, which the agency officially never confirms or denies. It has been accused of harboring geniuses, of which it has more than its share, and also an assortment of nuts, dolts and screwballs, and these also are not unknown. The late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy said it was packed with Communists, and liberals have said it is riddled with rightists.

One reason for the wild speculation is lack of certain knowledge. Its basic statistics are not announced. Its budget is not printed where the public can see it, going through Congress in fragments hidden in appropriations for other Government activities. The number and kind of its employes is an official secret. A few of its grievous failures have been fairly well documented, its successes usually unannounced. There are true heroes and undoubtedly some villains, but you can't tell the players without a score card and no scorecard has ever been printed.

Representative John V. Lindsay, of New York, one of the Congressmen proposing a legislative watchdog committee over C.I.A., said in a speech recently that the agency failed to predict the entry of Red China into the Korean War; that in 1956 a C.I.A. agent told President Nasser to ignore a State Department message the Egyptian leader was about to receive; that the C.I.A. was deeply involved in the East Berlin, Poznan and Hungarian rebellions in the 1950's; that it was instrumental in overthrowing the Mossadegh regime in Iran in 1953 and the Arbenz regime in Guatemala in 1954.

The C.I.A. has come under fire for fostering the illusion that there was a 3-to-1 missile gap between the United States and Russia in the nineteen-fifties when in fact there was not. Rafael Trujillo's former chief of secret police said the Dominican dictator was assassinated in 1961 with C.I.A. weapons and planning. And French newspapers said C.I.A. was behind the revolt of French Army officers against Charles de Gaulle.

ON the other hand, the C.I.A. is credited with predicting the launching of Sputnik, the anti-Nixon riots in South America, the rise of Khrushchev to Soviet power, and the Anglo-French invasion of Suez. Harry Howe Ransom, of Harvard University, the leading academic student of C.I.A., says such events are "the top of the iceberg of a vast secret intelligence program."

According to Professor Ransom, the United States spends \$2 billion a year on intelligence operations, of which C.I.A. spends "over half a billion." It is the only agency of Government whose books are not open to the General Accounting Office or even to Congress. It has about 10,000 employees in Washington and maybe as many more elsewhere. In the past it has drawn heavily on Ivy League circles for leadership but today it employs a wide variety of bright young lawyers, both Ivy and non-Ivy, and acute businessmen, plus some middleaged foreigners who know how to parachute from airplanes.

If the

American public knows little about the C.I.A., foreign intelligence agencies honor it with unrelenting scrutiny. During the Korean war an important but officially anonymous C.I.A. executive, whom we will call Scattergood, was walking by the door of the Czech Mission in Washington when the doorman bowed and said gravely, "Good morning, Dr. Scattergood."

It is a truism that 80 per cent of intelligence is pure analysis of conventional documents to provide the basic picture illuminated by shafts of less orthodox light sent in by secret agents. Most of its work is a boring battle of routine words and numbers, but upon it depends the reliability of the world-wide intelligence report the C.I.A. hands the President every morning and its estimates of national power and intentions at critical moments.

THE present controversy, though, is not concerned so much with either the secret agents or the won specialists reading foreign budget reports. It is over the more or less secret C.I.A. men abroad who work out of American embassies. At the middle ranks of American diplomats, the political-officer level, about half the men in an embassy may be C.I.A. employes. If there are guerrilla or other paramilitary operations, several hundred of the experts may be from C.I.A.

Career diplomats have common complaint about C.I.A. reporters abroad. They are, say Foreign Service men, not sufficiently sophisticated but they have money to spend and so have incomparably more freedom and power than regular diplomats. The C.I.A. traditionally pays for information, though not necessarily in cash but through personal friendships that make cars and apartments easy to find, thereby cultivating a sense of obligation and sympathy. The C.I.A. rates its information on a scale from "1" for absolutely reliable to "6" for unreliable and thinks the scale quite stringent (Leigh has it that a report of Allen Dulles was once rated "2").

But career diplomats think free information is usually a lot better, and that the masses of data collected by freewheeling C.I.A. men fall mostly in the 2-3-4 categories while the limited cables and professional perceptions of Foreign Service officers are sounder.

DOES the C.I.A. make policy? Allen Dulles in his new book, "The Craft of Intelligence," calls this the most harmful myth about C.I.A. Yet much may hinge on what is meant by "policy." The C.I.A. certainly does not set national goals or make foreign policy. But such goals are

policy are usually general and their implementation is left unspecified, permitting vast discretion as to how best to achieve national goals. The head of C.I.A. sits in the small and crucial Executive Committee of the National Security Council; the President has many advisers but few get as respectful attention as he.

IN the field C.I.A. men are nominally, but not necessarily in practice, under orders of the U.S. Ambassador. They may decide which unions to back, which opposition parties to subsidize, which newspapers to strengthen. In one case, a high State Department official wanted a few thousand dollars to back an important union in danger of being taken over by Marxists, but the source of money, the C.I.A., demurred. Thus C.I.A. does not make policy in any formal way but it is a major influence in the shaping of national behavior abroad.

Supporters of C.I.A. think it unfair to accuse the agency of usurping State Department functions. They feel, rather, that it is more accurate to say it has expanded into areas unfilled by any other American agency. The post-war years brought a rude awakening to the United States. The world was filled with deadly serious intrigue and manipulation in which foreign societies were no longer stable. Dynamic change was the by-word and many of these societies were on the verge of becoming part of a global system hostile to the United States. Intervention, always a nasty word in American diplomatic history, even when it was practiced, became a major technique of international relations.

The State Department entered this unpleasant new

world at a serious disadvantage. Its tradition, more than that of most powerful foreign offices, was genuinely in favor of open and correct foreign relations. As the official delegation to regimes in power, it had to show extreme delicacy in making contact with opposition groups. And it confronted the post-war diplomatic revolution during one of the saddest periods in its history.

At precisely this time the State Department was reeling under a series of shattering blows. Under President Truman's Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, it was attacked by Republicans and other critics, and Acheson was held up as an example of a striped-pants, pussy-footing, cookiepushing diplomat aflutter before the cynical toughs of Communism. This was, particularly for Acheson, ridiculous criticism. But charges became political issues with a national cry to "clean out" the State Department.

AFTER Eisenhower's victory, Acheson was succeeded by John Foster Dulles. He made no secret of his dislike of most of the State Department career apparatus. This was the era of "massive retaliation." There was a feeling that with the Strategic Air Command a State Department was unnecessary. The crowning catastrophe was the emergence of Wisconsin's Senator McCarthy whose attacks on the department sent its prestige in Congress plummeting, demoralized its workers and damaged its influence abroad.

It was during this period that the C.I.A. was born and hired its first 10,000 employes. The shift of power and function was eased by the fact that after 1953 Allen Dulles served as head of C.I.A., while

his older brother led the State Department. In general, they agreed to the new division of labor.

As guerrilla warfare broke out in a number of areas, the C.I.A. enlarged its military function. This was a novel and unwelcome activity as far as the American military was concerned, particularly since the Army was already being reduced to a shadow by budget cuts and the dominance of the Air Force and Navy, which had little interest in petty fights on the ground. By the time of the Bay of Pigs, the C.I.A. was in the paramilitary business on a fairly large scale, but this fiasco cost the C.I.A. some of its men and functions. They were turned over to the Department of Defense. There is now emerging, some observers think, significant tension between Defense and C.I.A., especially with the creation of the Defense Intelligence Agency, which may be the beginning of one of those intelligence rivalries to which the trade is prone.

THE C.I.A. has its own problems, now that it is under fire. In the time scale of the bureaucratic lifespan, it is approaching middle-aged respectability. The most dramatic sign is the agency's new "Spy Palace," a sparkling \$50,000,000, seven-story, million-square-foot edifice of contemporary design in Langley, Va.

Even his friends think that the building is one of Allen Dulles' few serious errors and refer to it sadly as "Allen's Folly." They feel it makes surveillance by enemy agents easier. It is also a revelation of the C.I.A.'s size and power that will raise the covetous hackles of other agencies — the State Department and Defense Department look drab by comparison — and it makes a dazzling target for Congress. Worst of all, it is feared that C.I.A. employes will be encouraged to feel pride in conventional bureaucratic status rather than in an aris-

tocracy of silence, unorthodoxy and anonymity.

The emergence of the C.I.A. as a visible political fixture goes on in small ways and large. A few years ago it was not even listed in the Washington telephone book but now it is, along with the address of its employment office in downtown Washington. (This office, incidentally, is left scrupulously unmarked). The C.I.A. recruits college graduates (starting salary usually around \$5,000) competing with the Peace Corps and General Dynamics. A year ago C.I.A. Chief McCone asked Congress to provide better pensions for spies. And the agency has participated in two of Washington's most authoritative rituals of bureaucracy: it has been picketed (by pacifists) and it has been beaten in a zoning fight (by, among others, Mrs. Kennedy's stepfather).

THE retirement of Allen Dulles and the appointment of John McCone symbolized for many the passage of C.I.A. into a new era. Dulles grew up in the middle of its history, took an active part in international drama, loved intelligence case work and was fascinated by the men who were in the field. He was succeeded by McCone, a businessman, believed to be far more rigid and doctrinaire, and valued for his unsentimental talents as an organizer rather than for his stimulation of creative individuals.

There is an irreparable flaw in any defense C.I.A. makes for itself: It is, in the best of circumstances, contrary to conventional American democratic philosophy. The American ethic calls for self-determination by people abroad, with no outside interference, and it calls for an enlightened electorate at home. It is against secrecy in government, its own and others.

Needless to say, this ethic has always been a goal rather than a perfect achievement, but it puts secrecy and inter-

ference on the defensive. The C.I.A., more than any other single agency, represents the dilemma modern America faces in a world where it proclaims the Democratic ethic but where the consequences of nuclear miscalculation and surprise are intolerable.

It is into this scene of confusion and anxiety that Congress is now moving, to exercise its instinct to watch and control the spending of money. A joint committee of both chambers has been proposed, to act as a select set of supervisors in the manner of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Nothing remotely like the surveillance of atomic-energy matters now exists for intelligence operations. Secret operations of C.I.A. are under the jurisdiction of a special committee of the National Security Council, but this is a highly secure Presidential unit, hardly a public overseer. There is also a Presidentially appointed board of consultants, consisting of distinguished citizens, but in its first six years it has had a staff of only one plus a secretary, and its members have been both deferential and incurious.

SUBCOMMITTEES of the House and Senate Armed Services and Appropriations Committees have nominal jurisdiction over C.I.A. but they, too, have acted gingerly. The attitude was epitomized by Senator Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts, a member of two of the subcommittees, who said, after the U-2 affair, that he hesitated to probe too far because "we might obtain information which I personally would rather not have."

The House C.I.A. subcommittee meets about five times a year and each session lasts less than three hours. The Senate subcommittee has had about the same schedule for

the last ten years. It is not likely that there is a thorough review in 15 hours a year of an agency that spends more than \$500,000,000 in over 70 countries.

But intelligence executives are appalled at the idea of Congressional surveillance. The heaviest spectre that hangs over them is that of the late Senator McCarthy. But their fear is even deeper. No intelligence network in the world operates in public. In its operations, lives are at stake, policies are in balance and crucial relations with both friendly and hostile nations depend on discretion. The agency must move quickly in crisis, and report to the President in utter candor no matter how unpopular its message.

"I wouldn't mind a man like Mike Mansfield," one experienced C.I.A. man said, "but when I think of a wrecker or a blabber it turns my blood cold."

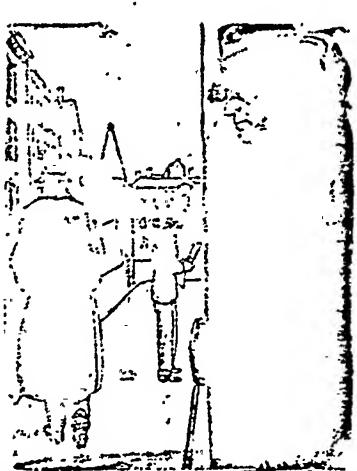
Intelligence operatives re-

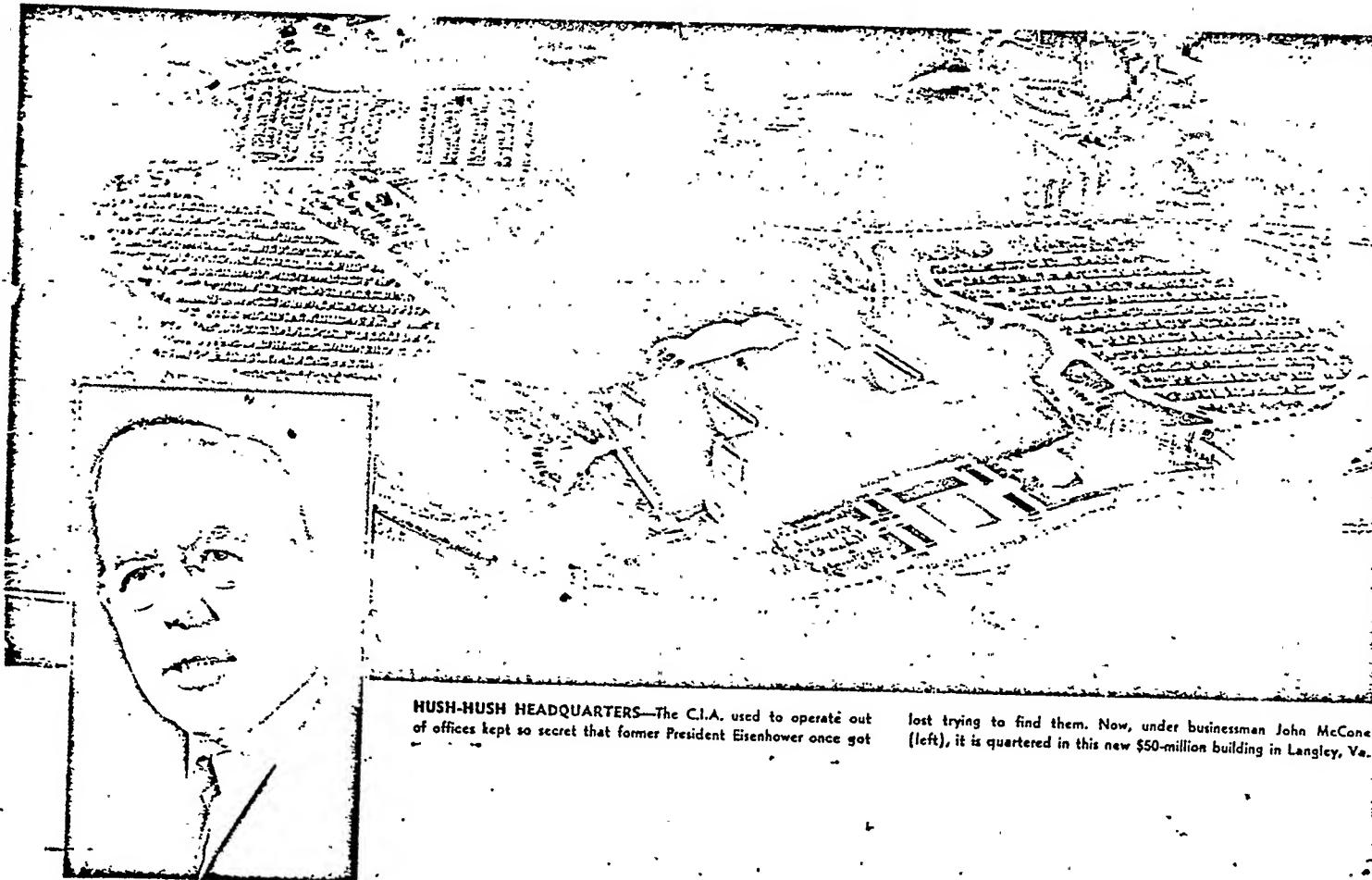
member "Tawny Pipit," code name for a C.I.A. operation which McCarthy and his ally, Senator Pat McCarran, both ruthless witch hunters, helped to break up. John Paton Davies, in 1949 a leading State Department expert on the Far East, devised the plan. It would have created an American study group on China made up of distinguished scholars, including some pro-Communists (as well as an unannounced C.I.A. man). The group would inevitably make contact with Red China; the pro-Communists would become the Red Chinese-Russian contacts inside the study group. Then the C.I.A. would introduce phony intelligence about Russia to help sow dissension between the two Communist allies.

MCCARTHY, to publicize his attacks on Davies, used this as "evidence" of Davies' "pro-Communist" sympathies. When General Smith of the C.I.A. told McCarran's Internal Security Subcommittee the truth, it was too late to save either Davies or "Tawny Pipit."

One alternative to Congressional surveillance is more explicit responsibility by the President and the Secretary of State. But this, too, presents a problem. The C.I.A. is a "dirty" operation and the President and the Secretary of State have to stay "clean." Unpleasant things done in a cynical world are rarely admitted by heads of state. And two exceptions, the U-2 affair and the Bay of Pigs, both harmed the position of the President of the United States.

As the glamour of the black arts decreases, the boldness of Congress will grow. Yet the dilemma has no completely satisfactory solution: secret intelligence is defeated by publicity; democracy is defeated by not enough.





HUSH-HUSH HEADQUARTERS—The C.I.A. used to operate out of offices kept so secret that former President Eisenhower once got

lost trying to find them. Now, under businessman John McCone (left), it is quartered in this new \$50-million building in Langley, Va.



"**SUPERSPIES**"—Under its last two chiefs, General Walter Bedell Smith (left) and Allen W. Dulles, the C.I.A. attained great power.



CRITIC—Disturbed by C.I.A. activities in Vietnam, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge challenged the agency's authority there.

Office Memo. num • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DATE: June 16, 1955

FROM :

SUBJECT: ARTICLE ENTITLED "WHAT PRICE SECURITY?"
BY BEN H. SAGDILIAN - "WASHINGTON EVENING STAR"
JUNE 1, 1955

This article refers to an engineer who went to work at the Quonset Naval Air Station, Providence, Rhode Island, in 1945. The article states he made exaggerations on his application regarding his past experience. The Civil Service Commission (CSC) charged fraud and withdrew his security clearance. The article also states that the individual was a security risk.

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WHAT PRICE SECUR.

Political Buccaneers Exploit Loyalty Setup

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Two years ago Dr. John Punnett Peters of Yale was dropped as a security risk from his part-time job as adviser on a Government panel. It was a minor event lost in the national spectacle over internal security.

But his case may end the se-

Fourth of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

curity system as it has operated for eight years.

The Supreme Court has agreed to review the case of Dr. Peters to see if he was deprived of constitutional rights, even though it has long been agreed that no one has a constitutional right to a Government job. Dr. Peters asserts that today the term "security risk" involves more than loss of a Government job. He asserts it also includes a livelihood, a profession or a place in society.

The original design of the security system was to provide department heads enough information to decide which citizens would be suited for Government work in times of international stress. No guilt or innocence was involved, no punishment, no deliberate effect on private life. This way, the Constitution presented no barrier. But political exploiters had other ideas.

Program Exploited

Adventurers were quick to recognize that the security issue offered fame, fortune and political power. By spectacular exploitation, the original intent of the program has been changed until today the "security risk" label may cripple a man's position for a lifetime, despite the undisputed fact that the great majority of risk cases have nothing to do with loyalty.

In many loyalty cases, no determination of loyal guilt is involved. In 1943 for example, Dr. Peters was investigated and cleared. In 1951, his case was reopened, and this time he was charged with Communist Party membership, which he denied and, after a hearing, he was cleared again. In 1953, he was charged again. The appeal board did not know the identity of the accusers or even if they had made the accusations under oath. Dr. Peters again denied the charges under oath and presented witnesses, including an ex-president of Yale. The Government presented no case. In June of that year he was dismissed as a security risk.

May Kill System

If the Supreme Court decides that the Government should present a legal case, on the basis that the "security risk" label is too disastrous for a man to carry without legal safeguards, then the present security system will be ended. For this the critics of security cannot be blamed. The fault will lie with those exploiters of security whose sloppy methods, incompetent administration and harassment of innocent persons wrecked the only possibility of a fair and efficient program.

Confusion from high sources has not helped. Statistics show that the great majority of security cases involve no suspicion of disloyalty. Yet high officials have often given the public the impression that the term "security risk" involves treason. Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield referred to security risks in this manner: "Somehow I do not feel too amanu inclined toward people who make treason a preoccupation." Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, referred to security risks: "Almost all of them removed because of Communist activities or connections or perversion." Gradually the term has become a horrid label that can ruin men's lives.

The distortion of security has affected not only Government workers, but their bosses.

Has become difficult to cover security matters in a calm and sensible manner. Too often, when "security" enters the conversation sense goes out the window. This was demonstrated in the case of a Rhode Island industrial engineer.

Boomed by White Lies

The engineer went to work at Quonset Naval Air Station, outside Providence, in 1943, and soon became a key man during a badly needed jet overhaul building. He so impressed his superiors that they urged him to apply for a Civil Service promotion, which he did.

In his application he repeated certain exaggerations he had made about his past experience. In his original application for Civil Service he had said he earned \$6,000 while at Western Electric some years past, and that as a private consultant he had supervised as many as 1,000 men. The facts were that at Western Electric he had earned \$4,500 a year, and as a private consultant he had supervised, nowhere near 1,000 men. Asked why he made the exaggerations, the engineer said he had wanted the job and that such "padding" was almost standard in Civil Service circles.

The Civil Service Commission held up the promotion, charging "fraud" on the application. It withdrew the engineer's security clearance. The engineer's superiors in the meantime told him to ignore the matter, which appeared a minor administrative routine since there was no question of the engineer's ability or his accomplishments at Quonset. While he was a "security risk" the engineer was part of a key group testifying to a Navy bureau on a proposed Navy installation he had helped design.

Dickering between Civil Service and the engineer, with the local Navy superiors on his side, went on for four years after he had gone to work at Quonset. Then the engineer was ordered with a security risk.

Not a Risk

He began a long series of trips to Washington, paying travel expenses for himself and his lawyers. But no one wanted to take responsibility for lifting a "security risk" label. Finally the Secretary of the Navy convened a special board which, after an extended hearing, declared that the engineer was not a risk and that he had been more than punished for his application statements. The board affirmed his contributions to naval air defense.

For the next year, the engineer could not get a job. He wrapped bundles and delivered packages. A full year afterward he found that Quonset was answering queries from prospective employers by stating merely that the engineer had been relieved of duty because he had lost his security clearance. The base did not say the clearance was reinstated.

The engineer spent more than \$4,000 on the case, has been out of engineering work for two years. A Federal court said it could do nothing for him.

The same hypertension about security moves it into more than irrelevant individual cases. It has moved it into irrelevant fields of research, such as in the curing of disease.

Sickle cell anemia, for example, is a congenital weakening disease with no known cure. About a million Americans are susceptible to it. The research is entirely open. No secrets are involved.

Dr. Linus Pauling, of the Cal-

ifornia Institute of Technology, probably knows more about the basic blood problems involved than any other man. He is a former president of the American Chemical Society and last year's Nobel Prize winner. He is "controversial." The Russians have attacked his theory of resonance (explaining how molecules are held together) as "bourgeois." In this country Senator McCarthy, Louis Budenz and others have said Dr. Pauling was part of the Communist conspiracy. Dr. Pauling has denied this under oath on several occasions, saying the accusations stem from the fact he is a pacifist and has signed every peace petition he could get his hands on.

Dr. Pauling was once refused a passport by the State Department (which relented when he received the Nobel Prize). The Voice of America once denied a French request to let Dr. Pauling be interviewed on a tape recording for interested Frenchmen.

More recently, Dr. Pauling applied to the United States Public Health Service for research grants to investigate sickle cell anemia. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare denied the grant. Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby said her department does not make grants for persons where there is "substantial information bearing on loyalty."

Such a policy, though, has often been considered a device to protect agencies from political attack rather than against sub-

versaries. In some cases scientists with political enemies who have applied for grants for medical research have been told nothing by the Government but indirectly have been informed that they would do better if they applied for their academic department and left their own names off the application.

Shortly after Dr. Pauling was refused the Government grant for research on sickle anemia, the department of chemistry at the California Institute of Technology (chairman: Dr. Pauling) applied for the same grant, using names of two associates but omitting that of Dr. Pauling. The grant was quickly made.

Later the National Science Foundation, also a Government agency but with a different opinion, quickly granted money to Dr. Pauling in his own name.

In such cases, there is every evidence that the greatest loss is not to the individual, but to the Government and the public.

Dr. Henry M. Wilson, president of Brown University, has said:

"If a scientist is henceforth to be judged not by what he does scientifically, but what he does socially, if he is barred from things which he does superbly because of things he does not do well, we are setting curbs upon the progress of the United States for which all of us will pay a bitter, and it may be a fatal, penalty."

Tomorrow: The price our diplomacy pays.

(Reprinted by North American)